MACAULAY

LIVES OF
ATTERBURY, BUNYAN,
GOLDSMITH, JOHNSON
AND PITT

SCOTT & SISSON

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MACAULAY'S LIVES

(ATTERBURY, BUNYAN, GOLDSMITH, JOHNSON AND PITT)

EDITED WITH
INTRODUCTION AND FULL NOTES

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INTRODUCTION.

I

Thomas Babington Macaulay was born at Rothley Temple, Leicestershire, the seat of his uncle Thomas Babington, on the 25th of October 1800. His father Zachary Macaulay had been governor of Sierra Leone and was one of the earliest and most zealous advocates of Negro Emancipation, and, with Wilberforce, led the Clapham Sect of Evangelicals. Through Wilberforce, the friend of Pitt, echoes from the upper regions of politics and society reached young Macaulay. But, on the whole, the society in which he moved in youth was not favourable to his development. Their intelligence was strong, plain and clear, they were fervent in religion, but temperament and culture were little valued by them. This influence left its traces in a certain Philistinism with which Macaulay has been reproached.

Like the younger Pitt, Macaulay was a precocious child, but with a distinct literary turn of mind, and prose history and verse romance were the fruits of his childhood as of his manhood. He was sent to a private school under the care of a Mr. Preston, at Shelford, who seems to have been an excellent tutor.

In 1818 Macaulay entered Trinity College, Cambridge, and there he was fortunate in meeting such a society as did much to broaden his mind and to counteract the Clapham influences. Charles Austin, Winthrop Praed, Henry Nelson Coleridge were the most brilliant of his associates. His career at Cambridge was not astonishingly distinguished. He read a vast amount in a desultory manner, he was twice awarded the prize for English verse, and finally he gained a Fellowship of Trinity College. Throughout his life he remained strongly attached to his college and university.

In 1826 he was called to the bar and joined the Northern Circuit. But he had already shown that his true career was that of a man of letters. He had written ballads for *Knight's Quarterly,* and in August 1825 there appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* his famous essay on Milton which created a great sensation. His reputation was made at once as was Byron's by his *Childe Harold,* he was admitted into the highest and best circles of society, where he was found to be no less brilliant a talker than a writer, and his literary and social success opened the door of politics to him.

So far he had been the son of a wealthy father, but disaster overcame the family fortunes, and Macaulay found himself a poor man. His fellowship of £300 expired in 1831, a Commissionership of Bankruptcy given him by Lord Lyndhurst, worth £400 a year, was abolished in 1830, and he was forced to make money by writing reviews and articles which appeared mostly in the *Edinburgh Review.* He was able to enter Parliament, however, by the help of Lord Lansdowne, who admired his articles and shared his political views. The seat at Calne a "pocket borough," was offered him, and he accepted. He entered as a Whig, at the great crisis of Parliamentary Reform in 1830. In March 1831 Macaulay made the first of his great Reform speeches. He at once became a notable and influential figure and when Earl Grey, the Reform leader, came into power, Macaulay became a Commissioner of the Board of Control and applied himself to

Indian affairs. In 1833 he defended the Government India Bill in a powerful and effective speech. But he was never a good party man and disagreed for a while with the ministry upon the slavery question. This consideration, apart from his great merits, made the government glad to offer him a lucrative post in India, and his poverty made Macaulay glad to accept it. He became a Law Member of the Supreme Council of India, with a salary of £10,000 a year, and in February 1834 he sailed for Calcutta with his sister Hannah. He worked strenuously during his stay in India and left behind him a great record of accomplishments. With little practical knowledge of India, he applied doctrinaire liberal principles to correct the narrower, more repressive system hitherto prevailing. He drafted the Indian Penal Code, a model of clearness and concise exactness. His other reforms were not so universally approved. The liberty of the press, the equality of Europeans and natives before the law, the establishment of a system of European education, these were met with strong disapproval in many quarters.

With regard to the question of Education, Macaulay seems to have shared to a certain extent the error of the French doctrinaires who transplanted the whole English parliamentary system without modification into France. He did not appreciate the difficulty of replacing a deeply-rooted civilisation, whatever its faults, with another widely different civilisation, whatever its merits might be. He decided the vexed question, as to whether English or the Vernacular languages should be the medium of instruction, in a famous minute which shows his remarkable controversial power of sarcasm and picturesque vehemence.

"The question now before us," he wrote, "is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language, we shall teach languages in which, by universal confession, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own; whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, whenever they differ from those of Europe, differ for the worse; and whether, when we can patronise sound philosophy, and true history, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines, which would disgrace an English farrier — astronomy which would move laughter in the girls at an English boarding-school — history, abounding with kings thirty feet high, and reigns thirty thousand years long — and geography made up of seas of treacle and seas of butter."

Yet he rightly considered that one of the greatest services that England could render to India was to open up to Indians the vast treasures of European literature and European thought.

But neither English politics nor Indian politics were able to overcome his predilection for letters. He was already, he says, "more than half determined to abandon politics and give myself wholly to letters, to undertake some great historical work which may be at once the business and the amusement of my life." In 1838 he returned to England, and though he entered Parliament again as member for Edinburgh and took office as Secretary for War under Lord Melbourne, his mind turned more and more towards his literary work. Melbourne's ministry fell in 1841 and in that year Macaulay's essay on Warren Hastings appeared. That on Clive appeared in 1840, and the *Lays of Ancient Rome* in 1842. In 1838 he already planned his great *History of England*. He took office again in 1846, under Lord John Russell, as Paymaster-General. But the duties were light and Macaulay spent most of his time upon his *History*. "The truth is," wrote Lord Cockburn, "Macaulay....cares more for his *History* than for the jobs of constituents, and answers letters irregularly and with a brevity deemed contemptuous."

Macaulay was defeated in the election of 1847 at Edinburgh. His excessive independence and contempt of the religious prejudices of his constituents had alienated their sympathies. In 1852, however, after repeated invitations, he consented to stand for election again, and represented Edinburgh until 1856, though he seldom visited the House of Commons, and took little part in parliamentary affairs. He devoted himself to his *History*. The first two volumes appeared in December 1848, and their success was unique and immediate. Edition after edition appeared to meet the demand, and 13,000 copies were sold in a few weeks. The popularity of this work was equal, if not superior, to that of Scott's *Waverley* or Byron's *Childe Harold*. In November 1855 the third and fourth volumes appeared, with similar success. Within a generation of its first appearance, as Trevelyan calculated, over 140,000 copies of Macaulay's *History* were printed and sold in the United Kingdom alone. Abroad the reputation and sale of the book were equally surprising. Macaulay reaped a fortune from this book, and he received a cheque for £20,000 for the second two volumes alone.

All the world combined to honour Macaulay. He was made a member of the French Academy, and received the Prussian Order of Merit. In 1857 he was raised to the peerage as Baron Macaulay of Rothley, the first peer who owed his rank to literary eminence. In 1858 he was made High Steward of Cambridge. But his health had long been failing, since 1852. He had repeatedly asked to be freed from his duties as member for Edinburgh, and had finally retired from politics in 1856. He worked from time to time at his *History* but gradually resigned himself to close the narrative at the death of William III, and "to leave untold that very portion of English history that he was competent to treat as no man again will treat it," the reign of Queen Anne.

In the intervals of his occupation with the *History*, Macaulay contributed five biographies of eminent men to the Encyclopædia Britannica, *Atterbury* (1853), *Bunyan* (1854), *Goldsmith* (1856), *Johnson* (1856), and *Pitt* (1858). The biography of Pitt was the last finished piece of work from Macaulay's pen.

The severe winter of 1859 hastened his end. As he sat in his library he died suddenly on December 28th 1859, and on January 9th 1860 he was buried in Westminster Abbey, in Poet's Corner near Addison's statue.

Lord Macaulay was never married. But his relations with his sister and her husband, Sir Charles Trevelyan, show that the absorptions of political and literary activities did not exclude "softer hours" of domestic affection. His nephew Sir George Trevelyan describes, in his biography, the grace and kindliness of the man, while all are united in praising the disinterestedness and uprightness of the politician. Independent to the verge of haughtiness, twice he resigned office in the time of his poverty rather than betray his political conscience, and his refusal to conciliate his electors at Edinburgh lost him his seat.

There was probably never a more omniverous reader than Macaulay. His love for the study of history and literature was the essential interest of his life. He read constantly and universally. Beginning with the classical literatures he added that of England, then learnt French, Italian and

Spanish fairly completely. He read also Dutch and German, though he had no taste for the works of Goethe or Schiller or those of the great philosophers. He had an extraordinary memory and whatever he read was stored away, ready to burst forth in a rain of allusions upon his own pages. An acute critic has pointed out the dangers of this too great love of the printed page, which yields great breath of information but tends to shallowness of reflection.

Macaulay was never a mere book-worm, nor did the purity of his morals lead him into asceticism. He was a lover of the good things of this world, of good society, of a cheerful and genial table, and of good conversation. Himself a brilliant talker, he was a distinguished figure in those houses where the aristocracy of intellect congregated.

He lived a full, strenuous and happy life, spent mainly in those pursuits which he most delighted in, and ornamented with political greatness and a lasting literary fame.

II.

These five Biographies were written for the eighth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica,* as a gift to its publisher Adam Black of Edinburgh, who had long been Macaulay's faithful friend and political supporter. In his preface to the separate edition of the Biographies which he published, Black writes as follows: "When the following Biographies were contributed to the Encyclopædia Britannica, Lord Macaulay had ceased to write for the reviews or other periodicals, though earnestly entreated to do so. It is therefore entirely to his friendly feeling that I am indebted for these literary gems, which could not have been purchased with money; and justice to his memory requires that I should record, as one of the many instances of his kind and generous heart, that he made it a stipulation that remuneration for these articles should not be so much as mentioned. I know also that it was his intention to have increased the number of his contributions to the Encyclopædia, had health and opportunity permitted; but his lamented and unexpected death brought them to an untimely conclusion."

The Life of Atterbury appeared in 1853, of Bunyan in 1854, of Goldsmith and Johnson in 1856, of Pitt in 1859.

Regrets have been expressed that Macaulay's attention should have been distracted from his greater work, and that valuable time, which might have been devoted to his *History of England,* should have been frittered away on short biographical studies. Such regrets are not merely vain, but also mistaken.

In the first place, these Biographies furnish a very real contribution to the history of the time which Macaulay would have described, if he had lived. The Lives of Atterbury and Pitt epitomize two extremely important periods of that history, and the final and weighty judgment of Macaulay with regard to their problems and the great men who dominated them. His *Life of Pitt* is of particular importance in this respect.

Apart from this consideration, the lives of the three men of letters, Bunyan, Johnson and Goldsmith, are well worth a few chapters of the *History*. Macaulay's earlier literary essays suffered mainly from the inevitable faults of the review-writer. We may read with gusto the smashing articles wherein the brilliant young rhetorician drives his critical Juggernaut over the hapless Montgomery or the learned Croker. We may smile at the zest wherewith Macaulay "dusts the varlet's jacket." But such efforts are not entered in the catalogue of literature, and true criticism is not the fruit of such an attitude. In these biographies Macaulay abandons the position of conscious prejudice, ceases to be a mere attorney and writes on the whole with the sense of responsibility due to permanent work. We should be sorry to have been left with Macaulay's *Review of Croker's Boswell*, and not to have had his *Life of Johnson* as a corrective. In the third place, not only are these biographies written on a high plane of critical morality, but they furnish examples of the perfection of Macaulay's style. The florid rhetoric of his early *Essays*, the discursiveness of his *History*, and the continuous cracking of antitheses in both are here chastened, corrected and largely mitigated by the necessity for compression. Macaulay, whatever his artistic defects, was always a conscious and conscientious stylist, and never more so than in his later years. "Alas!" he wrote shortly before his death, "how short life; and how long art! I feel as if I had just begun to understand how to write, and the probability is I have very nearly done writing." The *Life of Pitt* gave him infinite trouble before he was satisfied with it. In August 1858 he wrote in his Journal: "I finished and sent off the paper which has caused me so much trouble. I began it, I see, in last November. What a time to have been dawdling over such a trifle!"

For these reasons the Biographies have earned the highest praise.

"On a higher level than any but the very best of the Essays, stand those five biographies. All these are mature and careful pieces of work, quieter and more restrained in style than the Essays, but hardly less attractive. They show Macaulay as a master of artistic condensation. Taking into account their merits both of matter and of form, we should be safe in affirming that, as a writer of short biographies, Macaulay has not been surpassed, if he has been equalled, by any English writer. The life of the younger Pitt, in particular, calls for unqualified admiration. He never wrote anything better." (Sir Richard Jebb, *Lecture on Macaulay.*)

While the style of these biographies is of rare excellence, and the accuracy of their information unimpeachable, the personal criticism of men which they contain is not always adequate and just. The faults of Macaulay's temperament and the bias of his political views lead him astray at times.

The prejudice from which Macaulay found it most difficult to escape is perhaps his political prejudice. "He looked out upon the world, and behold, only the Whigs were good," says Mr. Birrell. A subtle atmosphere of hostility pervades the biography of Atterbury, the great Tory Churchman. His "dignity and tenderness," says Macaulay, were "worthy of a better man." He is denied "religious zeal," yet he was an unquestionably devout man. It was merely "his nature to be vehement and pugnacious." An allusion to his "courage" is accompanied by a dark hint as to the "kind of courage" it was. Again, Macaulay will by no means allow the possibility of devotion to the Jacobite cause, or to the High Church, as principles. The one is mere factiousness, the other party spirit, devotion to the order to which he belonged. Finally, the unscrupulousness which Macaulay condones in Whig politicians, and which was universal in that period, he condemns utterly in Atterbury. Yet Atterbury never betrayed the principles in which he believed, though he dissembled, while certain latitudinarian bishops, notably Bishop Barlow, turned with every wind that blew, and were less faithful to their pastoral duties.

In the second place, Macaulay's logical and rhetorical genius gave him a tendency to *simplify* character, to seek one principle or formula which shall explain all the complexities of a man's life. This key is usually expressed in an epigrammatic or paradoxical manner.

Boswell was a vulgar fool and *therefore* a great biographer. The greater his foolishness, the greater his biographical genius.

Pitt was a "drivelling" administrator and *therefore* all the greater is his lustre as a Parliamentary Leader.

Atterbury was a factious and restless spirit, and this is sufficient to explain all his dealings.

In all these cases Macaulay has a thesis to prove, and he presents the facts in such a way as to compel assent, if possible. For this reason he presents an incomplete, even unjust, character of these men. For no man's character can be reduced to a formula.

Thirdly, the essentially clear, cold and logical nature of Macaulay not only led him into this error, but imposed a further disability upon him. Extremely normal himself, he found it difficult to understand the abnormal in men's characters. The enthusiasm of the Puritans he perhaps never understood, nor the stern zeal of the Covenanters, any more than the chivalrous fervour of the Cavaliers. Therefore we find in him a certain fastidious distaste for the imperial enthusiasm of Chatham, for the passionate zeal of Cromwell, for the spectacle of a soul in torment that Bunyan presents. "Cromwell talked nonsense"; Bunyan was crazy; Vane suffered from "frantic delusions."

Bunyan's long agony was for Macaulay merely a "moral disease," for Macaulay himself had never been through the Valley of the Shadow of Death. Macaulay had not "that intuitive insight which gives life to the historical figures of Shakespeare and Scott and Carlyle." (Walker.)

The very great qualities of these five studies, however, make such criticisms appear trivial and captious. Easy, flowing narrative, brilliant, clear style, picturesque, vivid descriptions of externals, unrivalled power of marshalling a vast mass of facts into orderly array, compelling and stimulating strength, such are the qualities of Macaulay's genius which these biographies best exhibit, and which make us bear with resignation the loss of a few chapters of his *History*.

III.

[BY PROF. R. SCOTT, M. A., D. D.]

Macaulay in the first forty years of his life won distinction as an essayist, jurist, orator and poet. All his efforts in these directions were, however, tentative, occasional, experimental and preparatory. Two great ends or aims of life presented themselves to him. Either to be a statesman reforming the institutions and laws of his time, or to be the historian of his country. At first he was led into public life, but finally he decided for literature. Intellectually he was one of the most brilliantly gifted men of modern times. His reading and his memory are almost without parallel. Some others have had a more minute knowledge of general history. Macaulay's reading was not history only or mainly, but literature. He read all the books of classical antiquity many times over. He was intimately acquainted with the literatures of his own country and of Italy and France. It is his love of literature that distinguishes him from most other historians. But his knowledge of history was extensive and ever at command. Amongst Englishmen writing of England he began that method of minute research and painstaking verification in which he was followed by Freeman, and which to-day, though without the literary charm, is carried forward by many scholarly investigators and fully established among us. Most historians concern themselves little with higher imaginative or artistic literature and fail to reach the quality of style that gives permanence to their work. A great historian must combine the fundamental requirements of extensive erudition and attractive style, adding thereto new merits of original research or profound philosophical reflection. He must possess original power, and the fruits of his genius and labour must be commended to the reader by the charm of easy narrative and literary grace. It is in this combination of qualities that two men, Gibbon and Macaulay, stand in a class above our many other distinguished writers of history.

Macaulay's aim was the practical one; to tell to his own country its story in the past. His method was new; for he determined to lay aside the old idea of dignity and not only to describe outstanding events but to paint customs and manners, to narrate social and intellectual activities, and to present in miniature the life of the people. Commencing where Hume ended (1685) he had first to record the events and struggles amidst which the Constitution was securely determined, and then he proposed to carry forward the narrative through all the eighteenth century to the date when the modern legislation of Reform began (1830), or at least to a time which men living could remember. But, in addition to a preliminary sketch that went back to the beginnings and grew in fulness as his special epoch was approached, it is a mournful reflection that he was able to write only the story of sixteen years; and that at the very moment when his theme was opening into a period of intense national interest the pen fell from his hand. It is a story of regrets, regrets for time spent on superfluous essays, or in Parliament and political office, regrets for the indulgence of the luxury of reading and for the happy and brilliant evenings spent in the enlivening of society. But the stroke came from fate, whose interventions are unexpected and irresistible. In 1852, at the age of 52 Macaulay's health suddenly failed, and the greater part of the splendid purpose was destined to remain unfulfilled. Even these five brief biographies are matters of regret, for, though they live as models of style, they may have deprived us of a description of the battle of Blenheim, and of the social splendour of the court of Anne, and of the gay activities of comets and constellations of wits, and of that advance in literature which claimed the proud epithet Augustan.

Macaulay's biographical Essays usually consisted of two parts—a running commentary on the life and a series of reflections or conclusions at the close. The manner was derived from Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*; though as most of Macaulay's subjects were public men he was able to launch into a wider element of dissertation and to weave reflections bearing on the social or political or general conditions of the age of his hero. This wider purpose and freer form are the distinguishing marks of the new Essay introduced in the third decade of the nineteenth century by Macaulay, Carlyle, De Quincey, Christopher North and others. The life of Goldsmith and the others of the series differ from the Essays in the entire absence of such concluding reflections. The author's observations and criticisms are all embodied in the chronological narrative. And the style is marked by dignity and restraint. When the end of the life is reached the biography also is ended. The pleasure of further speculation or comment is denied. In the case of Goldsmith there is not even one closing sentence in which the career is summed up or judged. This rigid economy must be held to indicate Macaulay's conception of the difference between a magazine Essay and an encyclopædic biography. The former, written with careless freedom, affords opportunity for speculations and suggestions; the latter allows no scope for purely individual opinions. The writer's task is impersonal, being to express recognised opinion or indisputable truth; and it is performed with a fuller consciousness of responsibility.

And yet this difference is already foreshadowed in the History. It has been objected to that masterwork that there are no chapters or sections of general review in which principles are summed up, or laws of evolution set forth, or general and philosophic ideas inculcated. Many chapters are indeed separate, self-contained, but they are mainly descriptive or narrative; and the whole is a panorama of pictures in which in a hundred forms the life of a people passes before us. This is the outcome of design; for Macaulay meditated twenty years on the best method of writing history. And the fact is that the principles of the Revolution, which are stated in early Essays, were so familiar to him that they have passed, as by a process of absorption into the general narrative, and in a measure pervade the whole work, and have contributed in no small degree to that clearness or perspicuity which no antagonist has as yet had the courage to deny. Similarly with regard to these biographies the general conception pervades the particular details. The full image of the person described is ever present in the writer's mind; and the achievements and special characteristics find suitable expression at the proper place. The opening sentence strikes the key-note: we are at once brought into intimate touch with the theme, and we never lose sight of it. Paragraph after paragraph, in due connection and succession, bring before us the man and his works. In the case of Goldsmith we see natural genius overcoming a wayward disposition and an imperfect education. The charm and the eccentricity are revealed. The many-sided activities, the humour and gaiety and grace, the notable imperfections and the never-failing gift of style are brought clearly before us. The image of the struggling and penniless youth who made his way into the society of the learned and eminent, and to that society added renown, grows before us in distinctness of outline and of form into the shape it had assumed when it was fixed and stereotyped by premature death. In a dozen pages we find the essence of a dozen biographies.

We do not of course mean that Macaulay's judgments on the man whose ways and experiences were so unusual or on his very various works — essays, poems, a novel, dramas, histories — were exhaustive and infallible. Macaulay, whose mind was severe and lofty, could have no natural sympathy with the oddities and absurdities of Goldsmith, with the vanity and folly that almost concealed the fundamental goodness without which works so beautiful could not have been written. But on the literary and general aspects he was well qualified. To say that he knew Goldsmith's works is nothing. He knew all works of the eighteenth century. He knew the clubs and companionships and controversies of the wits and poets of the period which he intended to embrace in his History. He knew the epoch sympathetically. We are now becoming familiar with the characteristic features of the three distinctive epochs of modern literary history, the first, of which Shakespeare is the central figure and Milton the consummation, the second which found itself in Dryden and closed with the life of Johnson, the third which includes and is included in the lives of Wordsworth and Tennyson. The second of these, though it is the least great, is the most purely intellectual. Deep feeling, lofty aspiration, subtle suggestion are wanting. Emotion is under restraint. The most general aims are clearness of thought, brightness of statement and practical utility. In literary circles these take the form of wit and intellectual enjoyment. Nearly all the writers from 1670 to 1780 are wits or humourists. The alliance of literature with politics and the spirit of controversy made most of them satirists. Their faults are thick as dust, but their merits also are conspicuous. Several are literary artists of a high order. If they sometimes struck keenly, yet their lives were fuller of kindness than of malice. The sin of dulness they specially hated, and they used the opportunities of friendship for the sharpening of their wits. In those days there was more of individuality than now, and more regard for purely intellectual distinction. Whence it may happen that writings of the eighteenth century will interest the world when abler works of later date are forgotten. Macaulay was not quite one of these men. He was reared in a stricter school, and he lived in an age when obligations to the state and the community were more seriously and truly realised. Yet his mode of thinking was derived from the eighteenth century. He too was what De Quincey called himself, an intellectual creature. He was fond of wit, free of prejudice, and highly practical. His models of style were the later luminaries, Johnson, Burke, Jane Austen; and many of his favourite ideas belong to the generation of these authors. Some of his contemporaries sought enrichment at the new German shrines of literature or philosophy. But Macaulay's classic mind abhorred the foreign jargon. To him therefore an artistic writer of the age of Johnson was necessarily a congenial theme; and the merits of Goldsmith's manner are fully appreciated and acknowledged.

We have said that Macaulay's sympathy with the man Goldsmith was by no means complete. But it is Goldsmith rather than Macaulay that deviates from the normal eighteenth century type. The characteristic gift of Goldsmith was not wit but humour. He was deficient not only in scholarship but also in that keen sharpness of intellect which shines in conversation or flashes in brilliancy of phrase and epigram. Humour belongs to a quieter feeling of the ludicrous, often expressed in situations slowly and gradually devised. And this quality of humour, when shaped by genius and art, is something finer and more affecting than the glitter and ornament of wit. But the humorous man is himself often an object of humour. His excellence is won at the expense of strength and dignity of character. Goldsmith combines the qualities of mind and heart that belonged to two fellow countrymen of the reign of Anne, Farquhar and Steele, together with the literary grace and form of an Addison. Of such a man Macaulay with his uncompromising conceptions of integrity and decorum, was compelled to write with mingled praise and blame; blame of vanity and impulsive error, and yet praise of a style that is well-nigh perfect, and of a genius that enabled him to rear his head in the finest society of his time and to outshine in permanent fame nearly all of those who with conscious condescension admitted him into their circle.

In purely literary judgment Macaulay is a critic of unequal merit. He could enjoy but he could not always analyse. Goldsmith's Histories and miscellaneous Essays he could very easily and correctly estimate. Of the Comedies he shows a skilful and genuine appreciation, though of course much more might have been said. The Poems too are finely characterised, though, in one case perhaps too eulogistically, in another too censoriously. It is in the case of Goldsmith's greatest effort, the *Vicar*, that Macaulay's limitations are most revealed. He feels the full charm of the more interesting chapters; but fails to estimate the work in the light of its plan and purpose, and is indifferent to the less pleasing sections in which the Vicar is severely tried and proved truly heroic. It is in literary criticism chiefly that Macaulay makes the extravagant statements, the antithetic hyperboles, that offend the fastidious readers. The lack of an original critical training is a defect that cannot be altogether disguised. Yet his observations are always instructive, often illuminating, never indefinite; and if they are not always final it may be doubted if there was any contemporary author that could have done better.

Apart from their subject matter these biographies are valuable as examples of method and style. And that style which fascinated Macaulay's generation is here seen at its best. Perhaps there is more ease and freedom in the political biographies, and the lives of Atterbury and Pitt may be preferred to those of Goldsmith and Johnson. But all are much superior to most of the early essays. The essays may indeed be more interesting. There is a freer play of emotion; there is a wider range of subject, there is more of controversial display; there are occasional passages of studied description, gorgeous or animated or picturesque. But the higher qualities of clear and sculpturesque design, of quiet and dignified restraint, of chastened and elegant expression, of statement, argument and illustration in perfect harmony and proportion; the chiselled sentences and studied images and the general impression of intellectual precision and completeness, are to be found more surely here and attest a higher attainment of mature and cultured art.

The first excellence of Macaulay's style is the Purity of the language. No word is wrongly used and no wrong word is used. He never falls below the dignity of literature. What is obsolete or antiquated or foreign or provincial or vulgar or novel has no place in his pages. In the use of every word, while he writes for the general reader he does not cease to think as a scholar. It is true that his language is highly latinised; but such is the lucidity of his general style that this fact is unnoticed. True also that he sometimes uses terms which, though accurate, have ceased to be conversational, but no one has called him pedantic or failed to recognise in such cases the true dignity of literary style. Macaulay, like Milton, remembered the radical meaning of words, and used them only in applications that accord with the original applications. Changes and extensions of usage do not supersede the correct meaning. His terminology is thus calculated to satisfy both the popular reader and the fastidious critic. His vocabulary is at once copious and correct. But we also feel that the words are carefully chosen, correctly combined and skilfully arranged by one who reverenced the art of the utterance of thought and who drew nothing except from the well of English undefiled.

By general consent his supreme merit is Clearness. Yet perhaps this excellence is composite, the result of a combination of meritorious qualities. It presupposes purity and propriety of words, correctness of idiom and orderliness of arrangement. Clearness of statement requires negatively the avoidance of ambiguity of expression, of prolixity of construction, or of obscurity of thought. In other words it necessitates precision of language, simplicity of structure, and lucidity of ideas. But many writers possess such qualities without conveying to their readers any special sense of the perspicuity of their style. A writer may be clear in every detail and yet indistinct on the whole; unable to arrest or sustain the reader's attention, or to impress the argument on mind and memory. Clearness is therefore allied to vividness and pertains not only to parts and sentences in detail but also to a book or chapter as a whole. We may distinguish three aspects: the clearness of the sentence, the clearness of the chapter, and the power of sustaining interest throughout. The sentence is the unit, but a similar power is required in the structure of the paragraph, and in the succession of paragraphs that make the chapter. The arrangement must contain a natural evolution of the argument. And this means that the whole chapter is conceived from the commencement and worked out in detail without forgetfulness of the dominant idea. Clearness of style is an outcome of clearness and fulness of thought. And again, the maintenance of uninterrupted interest requires in the author a vigour and animation of mind which can awaken in the reader a responsive sympathy while it keeps the main theme prominent. Herein lies one cause of Macaulay's success. His mind was impelled by a noble emotion which imparted elevation and distinction to his thought, thereby clarifying his lines of agrument. And to this must be added his preference for the concrete and his large use of illustration. Truth is taught by detailed examples which are easily comprehensible; and historical analogies of which he had so abundant a command make statements more impressive by repetition and resemblance. From such elaborations of art and nature arises that perfect lucidity in which language becomes like an untroubled and transparent medium of thought, or as a mirror from which is perfectly reflected the condition of the writer's mind. And again that clearness of thought owes its being not only to vigour of intellect and fulness and accuracy of knowledge but also to a moral elevation that raised him above the disturbing influences of self-interest, of faction and of prejudice. For clearness of intellect requires as a sure foundation purity of soul. The proud boast with which Trevelyan concludes the biography of his uncle, that every act of the life was as clear as one of his own sentences, derives its significance from the fact that to a large extent style is an image of mind.

Besides these two fundamental qualities of purity and clearness, a great style requires the two higher qualities of Power and Beauty. Can it be doubted that Macaulay possesses these? Not power perhaps of the very highest order—not massive intellect as Bacon's, or intense and profound passion as Burke's, or depth of moral penetration as Carlyle's, not by any means the boundless force and versatility of a Shakespeare but rather, an ardent animation, an astonishing rapidity, an exceptional combination of clear-eyed energy with overflowing fulness of knowledge. In this quality of masculine strength and vigour Macaulay is not inferior to any except the half-dozen greatest writers; and he could when he chose overwhelm an antagonist both with argument and ridicule. Literary power depends primarily on power of intellect sharpened or actuated by strong keen feeling. But the gift and arts of style are needed to make the power effective. We feel it most when the style is condensed and the short sentences are pithy and concise. We over-estimate it when the agruments are pointed with malignant wit or scornful satire. In a historian the main requirements are lucid exposition and interesting narrative. Macaulay's additional quality of strength was perhaps the oratorical—the power on the one hand of marshalling arguments in the most effective form and on the other of transfusing them with glowing sentiments of public honour. Therein we see the temperament and fiery ardour of a Gael mellowed by discipline and culture, and transformed into an enthusiasm for lofty literature and for political progress. High enthusiasm, swiftness of movement and conclusive clearness of argument are the chief elements of Macaulay's strength.

The quality of beauty, even more than that of power, varies with the mind of the writer. Elegance, grace, charm, splendour belong to a category of terms which broadly appeal to all, though they may never find exact definition. Perhaps there are three fundamental kinds, parallel to the arts of music, painting and sculpture. In some we admire the melody of their phrases, or the rhythm and cadence of their clauses or the rounded fulness of their sonorous periods. Others are distinguished by warmth of colouring — wit or humour, flashing or flowery phrase, pathos and tender feeling. The intellectual artist aims at beauty of form, shaped and polished in severe and tranquil dignity. Macaulay is perhaps deficient in musical charm. His voice is clear and sonorous but it lacks the softness of the silver bell. His sentences are alternately simple and periodic, but in their pointed emphasis and balanced phrase they lack the rise and cadence of the old great masters. Again Macaulay avoids ornament and restrains emotion. We cannot imagine him unbend, like Goldsmith, to sallies of wit and humour that relieve the strict tension of an intellectual theme. In both aspects the explanation is that the historian, or the philosopher, does not appeal to men's emotions whether of joy or sorrow, hope or fear. It is no part of his task to move either smiles or tears. Moreover Macaulay never entered into the more intimate relationships of husband and parent. Consequently an entire world of gentler emotions was excluded from the province of his art. He was deficient also in the experiences of inward meditation. To these reasons and this exclusion of the softer and deeper elements of life is to be attributed that sensation of hardness in the style of which some friendly critics have complained. It means the predominance of the purely intellectual. The range of feeling is limited; and yet those limitations are atoned for by the strength and purity of the patriotic emotion. The ideal style must combine the three kinds; yet it is fundamentally sculpturesque, the other qualities of colour and music being superadded or secondary rather than essential. The first thing therefore is form, in variety and harmony; manifesting boldness of design, clearness of conception, definiteness of purpose, mastery of feeling. Macaulay who is always thinking of the common reader has an undue proportion of short and easy sentences. Every style should be simple, but there is a simplicity that can exercise and satisfy the most intellectual minds. And the complex sentence, in which the central meaning is clear and the extensions of subject, predicate and object are carefully subordinated and balanced, is often necessary to the progress of the thought while it always allows a richer music. Of nineteenth century writers perhaps De Quincey and Ruskin will contend most closely with Macaulay for the palm. At their best they excel him, though neither of them had the same continuous power. A study of these, or of Landor or of Pater (all of whom wrote for a more cultured audience) will show what is meant by artistic composition. But there is a quality without which art and elaboration are ineffectual, a quality needed in order to attract and interest and captivate the reader, the quality variously named vividness, vivacity, life. Form must be vitalised by soul. And in this endowment of life or living energy who of these that are Macaulay's peers in intellect can be named beside him? Finally there is one other element, not very easily definable, which enhances beauty and may enter into any of the types above specified, *viz.* the poetic. Macaulay did not, like De Quincey, write prose-poetry, but he often wrote poetic prose. And perhaps therein lies one-half the secret of his charm. Poetry is of many kinds, varying with ages and individuals. The quality in Macaulay is shown in his Lays and Ballads. There is nothing deep, subtle, mysteriously suggestive, yet there is true kinship with the Homeric fire. Macaulay is the successor of Scott, without the creative power but with a finer mastery of poetic utterance. Something of the same fervour and love of heroism belongs to many portions of his historical prose. Poetic fancy is also exercised in his gorgeous descriptions, in his choice of illustration, and occasionally in imagery such as his vision of the New Zealander. But poetry exists not merely in particular passages but as a diffused and pervasive quality, determining the choice of word, the melody of phrase, the association of ideas, the use of similitude, the appropriateness of allusion, imparting to the exposition a pleasing grace and charm which may not be analysed but is easily felt and known.

Macaulay like others has the defects of his qualities; and attention is often drawn to what are called his mannerisms. Clearness he promoted by emphasis and repetition. Emphasis he marks by position; and the leading word, whether it is placed first or last or in the centre, is always unmistakably indicated. Cases where it is placed last, or where the subject follows the predicate, are numerous and easily observed. Repetition is a frequent mode both of clearness and of emphasis. Macaulay repeats the substantive where another writer would use a pronoun; and repeats a phrase where another would vary the expression. Again he repeats a form, beginning successive sentences in the same method of parallel construction; and it is perhaps the familiarity with them which his power creates that makes us think of them as mannerisms. "He could get no sleep. He could take no food": these sentences illustrate the repetition and the parallelism and also the method of short sentences. Another writer would have said: he could neither get sleep nor take food. The short sentence was the most novel feature and the most distinctive aspect of his early style. It came on his age as a surprise and a delight. It secures simplicity, emphasis, animation, and hurries the reader along with an eager swiftness to which complex structure cannot attain. But it sacrifices rhythm, it contains the peril of triviality, and by its monotony it soon wearies. The first master of the art, Bacon, used it not for narrative or exposition but for maxim and apophthegm: and his short sentences are weighty with concentrated wisdom. In ordinary writing this art must be used sparingly. In this mature style Macaulay successfully blends all forms of sentences, short or long, simple or complex or compound. And when his matter is unemphatic he can put several successive short sentences into one long easy compound sentence — as in the second sentence and elsewhere in this biography, thus retaining the advantage while eluding the criticism. Defects of such kinds, whether of excessive repetition, or of the undue use of the unmelodious short sentence, are the failings of virtues. For it was Macaulay's determination to write no sentence that would not be readily intelligible to the reading public. He maintained that the national story should be made as interesting as a romance. And he learned from Addison and others that questions of public interest could be discussed in a style equally remarkable for simplicity and grace. Perhaps to-day the History would be more admired if the illustrations were less numerous and the style less simple. But Macaulay wrote for living readers and not for unborn critics. And the criticism is applicable only to parts, and not at all to these five biographies.

The mannerism or fault oftenest alleged is an excessive use of antithesis. Antithesis — which differs from parallelism in as much as it involves contrast and pertains equally to the form and the idea — is in itself not a fault but a merit, being conducive to clearness and neatness. It is an essential part of the pointed or epigrammatic style. The method goes back to ancient literature. In England it prevailed most in the eighteenth century. In Johnson, for example, we have excess of balance and contrast. In the more simple sentences of Goldsmith antithesis is frequent, as it is much more so in the classic poetry of Pope. But Macaulay, though he studied these as well as the graceful flow of Addison and the laboured periods of Burke, has not directly imitated any; and a predominantly antithetic or epigrammatic style is incompatible with an easy animated style of narrative which is Macaulay's fundamental distinction. What has caused this criticism is that antithesis is often associated with exaggeration. It does not allow the minute shades of colour, the frequent qualification that regard for accuracy enjoins. 'This picture' and 'that' are apt to differ as white and black. And Macaulay, who had himself no prejudices, often blankly affirms what is directly contrary to the prepossessions of his readers. Exaggeration is a tendency in all literature; and if we allow the poetic figure of Hyperbole we may also tolerate over-statements that enhance the humour of an argument and carry the evidence of their own excess. Macaulay's strong assertions and clear contrasts trouble fastidious and dissentient consciences. And if it can be shown that he uses antithesis to mislead or to deceive we must join with his adversaries in condemnation. Probably a complete investigation would prove that the exaggerated statements of which his critics complain are in most cases simple statements of fact and that the love of truth is not at all less in him than in them. Possibly also these general charges are made by men who do not care to argue at close quarters; for, according to repute, Macaulay had a dangerous power of proving to the hilt whatever of his statements were contradicted or questioned. And the truth is that these criticisms of style have often no bearing on style at all. They are protests against over-statement and pertain to intellectual habit or the very variable world of opinions. The confused thinker, who finds his favourite opinions disturbed, condemns the author's style; being unable to perceive that style is independent of opinion and is simply a name for the perfect form of words.

The final epithet of Macaulay and of his style is brilliant. Nor is it the brilliancy of frequent sparkle, of dazzling show or of artificial splendour. It is a calm, genuine, steady light. In the firmament of letters Macaulay shines as a star, albeit of the second magnitude, yet of clear white lustre. It is idle to ask whether he is the full peer of such men as Gibbon or Burke. They surpass him in massiveness; he surpasses them in swiftness and versatility and variety of power. His brilliancy shines first in keen and active intellectuality. For dulness, for bigotry, for superstition, for confusion of thought, for irrelevance of argument, for all misleading emotion, he felt a natural scorn. It shines secondly in the largeness of his vision. The course of human history, the literatures of all lands and especially the march of progress, wtih its improved laws, enlarged liberties, mental enfranchisement, social refinement, discoveries of knowledge and extension of power over Nature — these were the themes that continually occupied his thoughts. Thirdly, and with closer reference to style, it is shown in the wealth of illustration or analogy which for the elucidation and confirmation of his argument he is able at all times to command. Not contrast but likeness is the primary quest of Macaulay's mind. And, if the discovery and the tracing of resemblance be the fundamental mark and exercise of wit, we may claim for him as large a share of that endowment as belongs to the professional masters that have made the arts of repartee the end of life. There have always been men, intellectually languid, who have disliked the eager confidence of Macaulay. There are some also who in the interests of political reaction, would rejoice to see his educative volumes set aside. But in the region of historical disquisition, while others rise and fall, he holds the field. It is well to note defects, to guard against mannerisms, to imitate only excellences. General depreciation may be deferred until in our midst his like shall again arise.

FRANCIS ATTERBURY.

FRANCIS ATTERBURY, a man who holds a conspicuous place in the political, ecclesiastical, and literary history of England, was born in the year 1662, at Middleton in Buckinghamshire, a parish of which his father was rector. Francis was educated at Westminster School, and carried thence to Christ Church a stock of learning which, though really scanty, he through life exhibited with such judicious ostentation that superficial observers believed his attainments to be immense. At Oxford, his parts, his taste, and his bold, contemptuous, and imperious spirit soon made him conspicuous. Here he published, at twenty, his first work, a translation of the noble poem of Absalom and Ahithophel into Latin verse. Neither the style nor the versification of the young scholar was that of the Augustan age. In English composition he succeeded much better. In 1687 he distinguished himself among many able men who wrote in defence of the Church of England, then persecuted by James II., and calumniated by apostates who had for lucre quitted her communion. Among these apostates none was more active or malignant than Obadiah Walker, who was master of University College, and who had set up there, under the royal patronage, a press for printing tracts against the established religion. In one of these tracts, written apparently by Walker himself, many aspersions were thrown on Martin Luther. Atterbury undertook to defend the great Saxon Reformer, and performed that task in a manner singularly characteristic. Whoever examines his reply to Walker will be struck by the contrast between the feebleness of those parts which are argumentative and defensive, and the vigour of those parts which are rhetorical and aggresssive. The Papists were so much galled by the sarcasms and invectives of the young polemic, that they raised a cry of treason, and accused him of having, by implication, called King James a Judas.

After the Revolution, Atterbury, though bred in the doctrines of non-resistance and passive obedience, readily swore fealty to the new government. In no long time he took holy orders. He occasionally preached in London with an eloquence which raised his reputation, and soon had the honour of being appointed one of the royal chaplains. But he ordinarily resided at Oxford, where he took an active part in academical business, directed the classical studies of the under-graduates of his college, and was the chief adviser and assistant of Dean Aldrich, a divine now chiefly remembered by his catches, but renowned among his contemporaries as a scholar, a Tory, and a high-churchman. It was the practice, not a very judicious practice, of Aldrich, to employ the most promising youths of his college in editing Greek and Latin books. Among the studious and well-disposed lads who were, unfortunately for themselves, induced to become teachers of philology when they should have been content to be learners, was Charles Boyle, son of the Earl of Orrery, and nephew of Robert Boyle, the great experimental philosopher. The task assigned to Charles Boyle was to prepare a new edition of one of the most worthless books in existence. It was a fashion among those Greeks and Romans who cultivated rhetoric as an art, to compose epistles and harangues in the names of eminent men. Some of these counterfeits are fabricated with such exquisite taste and skill, that it is the highest achievement of criticism to distinguish them from originals. Others are so feebly and rudely executed, that they can hardly impose on an intelligent schoolboy. The best specimen which has come down to us is perhaps the oration for Marcellus, such an imitation of Tully's eloquence as Tully would himself have read with wonder and delight. The worst specimen is perhaps a collection of letters purporting to have been written by that Phalaris who governed Agrigentum more than 500 years before the Christian era. The evidence, both internal and external, against the genuineness of these letters is overwhelming. When, in the fifteenth century, they emerged, in company with much that was far more valuable, from their obscurity, they were pronounced spurious by Politian, the greatest scholar of Italy, and by Erasmus, the greatest scholar on our side of the Alps. In truth, it would be as easy to persuade an educated Englishman, that one of Johnson's Ramblers was the work of William Wallace, as to persuade a man like Erasmus, that a pedantic exercise, composed in the trim and artificial Attic of the time of Julian, was a despatch written by a crafty and ferocious Dorian, who roasted people alive many years before there existed a volume of prose in the Greek language. But though Christ Church could boast of many good Latinists, of many good English writers, and of a greater number of clever and fashionable men of the world than belonged to any other academic body, there was not then in the college a single man capable of distinguishing between the infancy and the dotage of Greek literature. So superficial indeed was the learning of the rulers of this celebrated society, that they were charmed by an essay which Sir William Temple published in praise of the ancient writers. It now seems strange, that even the eminent public services, the deserved popularity, and the graceful style of Temple, should have saved so silly a performance from universal contempt. Of the books which he most vehemently eulogized, his eulogies proved that he knew nothing. In fact, he could not read a line of the language in which they were written. Among many other foolish things, he said that the letters of Phalaris were the oldest letters and also the best in the world. Whatever Temple wrote attracted notice. People who had never heard of the Epistles of Phalaris began to inquire about them. Aldrich, who knew very little Greek, took the word of Temple who knew none, and desired Boyle to prepare a new edition of these admirable compositions which, having long slept in obscurity, had become on a sudden objects of general interest.

The edition was prepared with the help of Atterbury, who was Boyle's tutor, and of some other members of the college. It was an edition such as might be expected from people who would stoop to edit such a book. The notes were worthy of the text; the Latin version worthy of the Greek original. The volume would have been forgotten in a month, had not a misunderstanding about a manuscript arisen between the young editor and the greatest scholar that had appeared in Europe since the revival of letters, Richard Bentley. The manuscript was in Bentley's keeping. Boyle wished it to be collated. A mischief-making bookseller informed him that Bentley had refused to lend it, which was false, and also that Bentley had spoken contemptuously of the letters attributed to Phalaris, and of the critics who were taken in by such counterfeits, which was perfectly true. Boyle, much provoked, paid, in his preface, a bitterly ironical compliment to Bentley's courtesy. Bentley revenged himself by a short dissertation, in which he proved that the epistles were spurious, and the new edition of them worthless: but he treated Boyle personally with civility as a young gentleman of great hopes, whose love of learning was highly commendable, and who deserved to have had better instructors.

Few things in literary history are more extraordinary than the storm which this little dissertation raised. Bentley had treated Boyle with forbearance; but he had treated Christ Church with contempt; and the Christ-Churchmen, wherever dispersed, were as much attached to their college as a Scotchman to his country, or a Jesuit to his order. Their influence was great. They were dominant at Oxford, powerful in the Inns of Court and in the College of Physicians, conspicuous in parliament and in the literary and fashionable circles of London. Their unanimous cry was, that the honour of the college must be vindicated, that the insolent Cambridge pedant must be put down. Poor Boyle was unequal to the task, and disinclined to it. It was, therefore, assigned to his tutor Atterbury.)

The answer to Bentley, which bears the name of Boyle, but which was, in truth, no more the work of Boyle than the letters to which the controversy related were the work of Phalaris, is now read only by the curious, and will in all probability never be reprinted again. But it had its day of noisy popularity. It was to be found not only in the studies of men of letters, but on the tables of the most brilliant drawing-rooms of Soho Square and Covent Garden. Even the beaus and coquettes of that age, the Wildairs and the Lady Lurewells, the Mirabells, and the Millamants, congratulated each other on the way in which the gay young gentleman, whose erudition sate so easily upon him, and who wrote with so much pleasantry and good breeding about the Attic dialect and the anapæstic measure, Sicilian talents and Thericlean cups, had bantered the queer prig of a doctor. Nor was the applause of the multitude undeserved. The book is, indeed, Atterbury's masterpiece, and gives a higher notion of his powers than any of those works to which he put his name. That he was altogether in the wrong on the main question, and on all the collateral questions springing out of it, that his knowledge of the language, the literature, and the history of Greece, was not equal to what many freshmen now bring up every year to Cambridge and Oxford, and that some of his blunders seem rather to deserve a flogging than a refutation, is true; and therefore it is that his performance is, in the highest degree, interesting and valuable to a judicious reader. It is good by reason of its exceeding badness. It is the most extraordinary instance that exists of the art of making much show with little substance. There is no difficulty, says the steward of Molière's miser, in giving a fine dinner with plenty of money: the really great cook is he who can set out a banquet with no money at all. That Bentley should have written excellently on ancient chronology and geography, on the development of the Greek language, and the origin of the Greek drama, is not strange. But that Atterbury should, during some years, have been thought to have treated these subjects much better than Bentley, is strange indeed. It is true that the champion of Christ Church had all the help which the most celebrated members of that society could give him. Smalridge contributed some very good wit; Friend and others some very bad archæology and philology. But the greater part of the volume was entirely Atterbury's: what was not his own was revised and retouched by him; and the whole bears the mark of his mind—a mind inexhaustibly rich in all the resources of controversy, and familiar with all the artifices which make falsehood look like truth, and ignorance like knowledge. He had little gold; but he beat that little out to the very thinnest leaf, and spread it over so vast a surface, that to those who judged by a glance, and who did not resort to balances and tests, the glittering heap of worthless matter which he produced seemed to be an inestimable treasure of massy bullion. Such arguments as he had he placed in the clearest light. Where he had no arguments, he resorted to personalities, sometimes serious, generally ludicrous, always clever and cutting. But whether he was grave or merry, whether he reasoned or sneered, his style was always pure, polished, and easy.

Party-spirit then ran high; yet, though Bentley ranked among Whigs, and Christ Church was a stronghold of Toryism, Whigs joined with Tories in applauding

Atterbury's volume. Garth insulted Bentley, and extolled Boyle in lines which are now never quoted except to be laughed at. Swift, in his Battle of the Books, introduced with much pleasantry Boyle, clad in armour, the gift of all the gods, and directed by Apollo in the form of a human friend, for whose name a blank is left which may easily be filled up. The youth, so accoutred and so assisted, gains an easy victory over his uncourteous and boastful antagonist. Bentley, meanwhile, was supported by the consciousness of an immeasurable superiority, and encouraged by the voices of the few who were really competent to judge the combat. "No man," he said, justly and nobly, "was ever written down but by himself." He spent two years in preparing a reply, which will never cease to be read and prized while the literature of ancient Greece is studied in any part of the world. This reply proved not only that the letters ascribed to Phalaris were spurious, but that Atterbury, with all his wit, his eloquence, his skill in controversial fence, was the most audacious pretender that ever wrote about what he did not understand. But to Atterbury this exposure was matter of indifference. He was now engaged in a dispute about matters far more important and exciting than the laws of Zaleucus and the laws of Charondas. The rage of religious factions was extreme. High-church and low-church divided the nation. The great majority of the clergy were on the high-church side; the majority of King William's bishops were inclined to latitudinarianism. A dispute arose between the two parties touching the extent of the powers of the Lower House of Convocation. Atterbury thrust himself eagerly into the front rank of the high-churchmen. Those who take a comprehensive and impartial view of his whole career, will not be disposed to give him credit for religious zeal. But it was his nature to be vehement and pugnacious in the cause of every fraternity of which he was a member. He had defended the genuineness of a spurious book simply because Christ Church had put forth an edition of that book; he now stood up for the clergy against the civil power, simply because he was a clergyman, and for the priests against the episcopal order, simply because he was as yet only a priest. He asserted the pretensions of the class to which he belonged in several treatises written with much wit, ingenuity, audacity, and acrimony. In this, as in his first controversy, he was opposed to antagonists whose knowledge of the subject in dispute was far superior to his; but in this, as in his first controversy, he imposed on the multitude by bold assertion, by sarcasm, by declamation, and, above all, by his peculiar knack of exhibiting a little erudition in such a manner as to make it look like a great deal. Having passed himself off on the world as a greater master of classical learning than Bentley, he now passed himself off as a greater master of ecclesiastical learning than Wake or Gibson. By the great body of the clergy he was regarded as the ablest and most intrepid tribune that had ever defended their rights against the oligarchy of prelates. The Lower House of Convocation voted him thanks for his services; the University of Oxford created him a doctor of divinity; and soon after the accession of Anne, while the Tories still had the chief weight in the government, he was promoted to the deanery of Carlisle.

Soon after he had obtained this preferment, the Whig party rose to ascendency in the state. From that party he could expect no favour. Six years elapsed before a change of fortune took place. At length, in the year 1710, the prosecution of Sacheverell produced a formidable explosion of high-church fanaticism. At such a moment Atterbury could not fail to be conspicuous. His inordinate zeal for the body to which he belonged, his turbulent and aspiring temper, his rare talents for agitation and for controversy were again signally displayed. He bore a chief part in framing that artful and eloquent speech which the accused divine pronounced at the bar of the Lords, and which presents a singular contrast to the absurd and scurrilous sermon which had very unwisely been honoured with impeachment. During the troubled and anxious months which followed the trial, Atterbury was among the most active of those pamphleteers who inflamed the nation against the Whig ministry and the Whig parliament. When the ministry had been changed and the parliament dissolved, rewards were showered upon him. The Lower House of Convocation elected him prolocutor. The Queen appointed him Dean of Christ Church on the death of his old friend and patron Aldrich. The college would have preferred a gentler ruler. Nevertheless, the new head was received with every mark of honour. A congratulatory oration in Latin was addressed to him in the magnificent vestibule of the hall; and he in reply professed the warmest attachment to the venerable house in which he had been educated, and paid many gracious compliments to those over whom he was to preside. But it was not in his nature to be a mild or an equitable governor. He had left the chapter of Carlisle distracted by quarrels. He found Christ Church at peace; but in three months his despotic and contentious temper did at Christ Church what it had done at Carlisle. He was succeeded in both his deaneries by the humane and accomplished Smalridge, who gently complained of the state in which both had been left. "Atterbury goes before, and sets everything on fire. I come after him with a bucket of water." It was said by Atterbury's enemies that he was made a bishop because he was so bad a dean. Under his administration Christ Church was in confusion, scandalous altercations took place, opprobrious words were exchanged; and there was reason to fear that the great Tory college would be ruined by the tyranny of the great Tory doctor. He was soon removed to the bishopric of Rochester, which was then always united with the deanery of Westminster. Still higher dignities seemed to be before him. For, though there were many able men on the episcopal bench, there was none who equalled or approached him in parliamentary talents. Had his party continued in power, it is not improbable that he would have been raised to the archbishopric of Canterbury. The more splendid his prospects, the more reason he had to dread the accession of a family which was well known to be partial to the Whigs. There is every reason to believe that he was one of those politicians who hoped that they might be able, during the life of Anne, to prepare matters in such a way that at her decease there might be little difficulty in setting aside the Act of Settlement and placing the Pretender on the throne. Her sudden death confounded the projects of these conspirators. Atterbury, who wanted no kind of courage, implored his confederates to proclaim James III., and offered to accompany the heralds in lawn sleeves. But he found even the bravest soldiers of his party irresolute, and exclaimed, not, it is said, without interjections which ill became the mouth of a father of the church, that the best of all causes and the most precious of all moments had been pusillanimously thrown away. He acquiesced in what he could not prevent, took the oaths to the House of Hanover, and at the coronation officiated with the outward show of zeal, and did his best to ingratiate himself with the royal family. But his servility was requited with cold contempt. No creature is so revengeful as a proud man who has humbled himself in vain. Atterbury became the most factious and pertinacious of all the opponents of the government. In the House of Lords his oratory, lucid, pointed, lively, and set off with every grace of pronunciation and of gesture, extorted the attention and admiration even of a hostile majority. Some of the most remarkable protests which appear in the journals of the peers were drawn up by him; and, in some of the bitterest of those pamphlets which called on the English to stand up for their country against the aliens who had come from beyond the seas to oppress and plunder her, critics easily detected his style. When the rebellion of 1715 broke out, he refused to sign the paper in which the bishops of the province of Canterbury declared their attachment to the Protestant succession. He busied himself in electioneering, especially at Westminster, where as dean he possesssed great influence; and was, indeed, strongly suspected of having once set on a riotous mob to prevent his Whig fellow-citizens from polling.)

After having been long in indirect communication with the exiled family, he, in 1717, began to correspond directly with the Pretender. The first letter of the correspondence is extant. In that letter Atterbury boasts of having, during many years past, neglected no opportunity of serving the Jacobite cause. "My daily prayer," he says, "is that you may have success. May I live to see that day, and live no longer than I do what is in my power to forward it." It is to be remembered that he who wrote thus was a man bound to set to the church of which he was overseer an example of strict probity; that he had repeatedly sworn allegiance to the House of Brunswick; that he had assisted in placing the crown on the head of George I., and that he had abjured James III., "without equivocation or mental reservation, on the true faith of a Christian."

It is agreeable to turn from his public to his private life. His turbulent spirit, wearied with faction and treason, now and then required repose, and found it in domestic endearments, and in the society of the most illustrious of the living and of the dead. Of his wife little is known: but between him and his daughter there was an affection singularly close and tender. The gentleness of his manners when he was in the company of a few friends was such as seemed hardly credible to those who knew him only by his writings and speeches. The charm of his "softer hour" has been commemorated by one of those friends in imperishable verse. Though Atterbury's classical attainments were not great, his taste in English literature was excellent; and his admiration of genius was so strong that it over-powered even his political and religious antipathies. His fondness for Milton, the mortal enemy of the Stuarts and of the church, was such as to many Tories seemed a crime. On the sad night on which Addison was laid in the chapel of Henry VII., the Westminster boys remarked that Atterbury read the funeral service with a peculiar tenderness and solemnity. The favourite companions, however, of the great Tory prelate, were, as might have been expected, men whose politics had at least a tinge of Toryism. He lived on friendly terms with Swift, Arbuthnot, and Gay. With Prior he had a close intimacy, which some misunderstanding about public affairs at last dissolved. Pope found in Atterbury not only a warm admirer, but a most faithful, fearless, and judicious adviser. The poet was a frequent guest at the episcopal palace among the elms of Bromley, and entertained not the slightest suspicion that his host, now declining in years, confined to an easy chair by gout, and apparently devoted to literature, was deeply concerned in criminal and perilous designs against the government.

The spirit of the Jacobites had been cowed by the events of 1715. It revived in 1721. The failure of the South Sea project, the panic in the money market, the downfall of great commercial houses, the distress from which no part of the kingdom was exempt, had produced general discontent. It seemed not improbable that at such a moment an insurrection might be successful. An insurrection was planned. The streets of London were to be barricaded; the Tower and the Bank were to be surprised; King George, his family, and his chief captains and councillors were to be arrested, and King James was to be proclaimed. The design became known to the Duke of Orleans, regent of France, who was on terms of friendship with the House of Hanover. He put the English government on its guard. Some of the chief malcontents were committed to prison; and among them was Atterbury. No bishop of the Church of England had been taken into custody since that memorable day when the applauses and prayers of all London had followed the seven bishops to the gate of the Tower. The Opposition entertained some hope that it might be possible to excite among the people an enthusiasm resembling that of their fathers, who rushed into the waters of the Thames to implore the blessing of Sancroft. Pictures of the heroic confessor in his cell were exhibited at the shop windows. Verses in his praise were sung about the streets. The restraints by which he was prevented from communicating with his accomplices were represented as cruelties worthy of the dungeons of the Inquisition. Strong appeals were made to the priesthood. Would they tamely permit so gross an insult to be offered to their cloth? Would they suffer the ablest, the most eloquent member of their profession, the man who had so often stood up for their rights against the civil power, to be treated like the vilest of mankind? There was considerable excitement; but it was allayed by a temperate and artful letter to the clergy, the work, in all probability, of Bishop Gibson, who stood high in the favour of Walpole, and shortly after became minister for ecclesiastical affairs.

Atterbury remained in close confinement during some months. He had carried on his correspondence with the exiled family so cautiously that the circumstantial proofs of his guilt, though sufficient to produce entire moral conviction, were not sufficient to justify legal conviction. He could be reached only by a bill of pains and penalties. Such a bill the Whig party, then decidedly predominant in both houses, was quite prepared to support. Many hot-headed members of that party were eager to follow the precedent which bad been set in the case of

Sir John Fenwick, and to pass an act for cutting off the bishop's head. Cadogan, who commanded the army, a brave soldier, but a headstrong politician, is said to have exclaimed with great vehemence: "Fling him to the lions in the Tower." But the wiser and more humane Walpole was always unwilling to shed blood; and his influence prevailed. When parliament met, the evidence against the bishop was laid before committees of both houses. Those committees reported that his guilt was proved. In the Commons a resolution, pronouncing him a traitor, was carried by nearly two to one. A bill was then introduced which provided that he should be deprived of his spiritual dignities, that he should be banished for life, and that no British subject should hold any intercourse with him except by the royal permission.

This bill passed the Commons with little difficulty. For the bishop, though invited to defend himself, chose to reserve his defence for the assembly of which he was a member. In the Lords the contest was sharp. The young Duke of Wharton, distinguished by his parts, his dissoluteness, and his versatility, spoke for Atterbury with great effect; and Atterbury's own voice was heard for the last time by that unfriendly audience which had so often listened to him with mingled aversion and delight. He produced few witnesses, nor did those witnesses say much that could be of service to him. Among them was Pope. He was called to prove that, while he was an inmate of the palace at Bromley, the bishop's time was completely occupied by literary and domestic matters, and that no leisure was left for plotting. But Pope, who was quite unaccustomed to speak in public, lost his head, and, as he afterwards owned, though he had only ten words to say, made two or three blunders.

The bill finally passed the Lords by eighty-three votes to forty-three. The bishops, with a single exception, were in the majority. Their conduct drew on them a sharp taunt from Lord Bathurst, a warm friend of Atterbury and a zealous Tory. "The wild Indians," he said, "give no quarter, because they believe that they shall inherit the skill and prowess of every adversary whom they destroy. Perhaps the animosity of the right reverend prelates to their brother may be explained in the same way."

Atterbury took leave of those whom he loved with a dignity and tenderness worthy of a better man. Three fine lines of his favourite poet were often in his mouth :

> "Some natural tears he dropped, but wiped them soon:
> The world was all before him, where to chuse
> His place of rest, and providence his guide."

At parting he presented Pope with a Bible, and said with a disingenuousness of which no man who had studied the Bible to much purpose would have been guilty: "If ever you learn that I have any dealings with the Pretender, I give you leave to say that my punishment is just." Pope at this time really believed the bishop to be an injured man. Arbuthnot seems to have been of the same opinion. Swift, a few months later, ridiculed with great bitterness, in the voyage to Lapute, the evidence which had satisfied the two houses of parliament. Soon, however, the most partial friends of the banished prelate ceased to assert his innocence, and contented themselves with lamenting and excusing what they could not defend. After a short stay at Brussels, he had taken up his abode at Paris, and had become the leading man among the Jacobite refugees who were assembled there. He was invited to Rome by the Pretender, who then held his mock court under the immediate protection of the Pope. But Atterbury felt that a bishop of the Church of England would be strangely out of place at the Vatican, and declined the invitation. During some months, however, he might flatter himself that he stood high in the good graces of James. The correspondence between the master and the servant was constant. Atterbury's merits were warmly acknowledged, his advice was respectfully received, and he was, as Bolingbroke had been before him, the prime minister of a king without a kingdom. But the new favourite found, as Bolingbroke had found before him, that it was quite as hard to keep the shadow of power under a vagrant and mendicant prince as to keep the reality of power at Westminster. Though James had neither territories nor revenues, neither army nor navy, there was more faction and more intrigue among his courtiers than among those of his successful rival. Atterbury soon perceived that his counsels were disregarded if not distrusted. His proud spirit was deeply wounded. He quitted Paris, fixed his residence at Montpelier, gave up politics, and devoted himself entirely to letters. In the sixth year of his exile he had so severe an illness that his daughter, herself in very delicate health, determined to run all risks that she might see him once more. Having obtained a license from the English government, she went by sea to Bordeaux, but landed there in such a state that she could travel only by boat or in a litter. Her father, in spite of his infirmities, set out from Montpelier to meet her; and she, with the impatience which is often the sign of approaching death, hastened towards him. Those who were about her in vain implored her to travel slowly. She said that every hour was precious, that she only wished to see her papa and to die. She met him at Toulouse, embraced him, received from his hand the sacred bread and wine, and thanked God that they had passed one day in each other's society before they parted for ever. She died that night.

It was some time before even the strong mind of Atterbury recovered from this cruel blow. As soon as he was himself again he became eager for action and conflict; for grief, which disposes gentle natures to retirement, to inaction, and to meditation, only makes restless spirits more restless. The Pretender, dull and bigoted as he was, had found out that he had not acted wisely in parting with one who, though a heretic, was, in abilities and accomplishments, the foremost man of the Jacobite party. The bishop was courted back, and was without much difficulty induced to return to Paris and to become once more the phantom minister of a phantom monarchy. But his long and troubled life was drawing to a close. To the last, however, his intellect retained all its keenness and vigour. He learned, in the ninth year of his banishment, that he had been accused by Oldmixon, as dishonest and malignant a scribbler as any that has been saved from oblivion by the Dunciad, of having, in concert with other Christ Churchmen, garbled Clarendon's History of the Rebellion. The charge, as respected Atterbury, had not the slightest foundation: for he was not one of the editors of the History, and never saw it till it was printed. He published a short vindication of himself, which is a model in its kind, luminous, temperate, and dignified. A copy of this little work he sent to the Pretender, with a letter singularly eloquent and graceful. It was impossible, the old man said, that he should write anything on such a subject without being reminded of the resemblance between his own fate and that of Clarendon. They were the only two English subjects that had ever been banished from their country and debarred from all communication with their friends by act of parliament. But here the resemblance ended. One of the exiles had been so happy to bear a chief part in the restoration of the Royal house. All that the other could now do was to die asserting the rights of that house to the last. A few weeks after this letter was written Atterbury died. He had just completed his seventieth year.

His body was brought to England, and laid, with great privacy, under the nave of Westminster Abbey. Only three mourners followed the coffin. No inscription marks the grave. That the epitaph with which Pope honoured the memory of his friend does not appear on the walls of the great national cemetery is no subject of regret: for nothing worse was ever written by Colley Cibber.

Those who wish for more complete information about Atterbury may easily collect it from his sermons and his controversial writings, from the report of the parliamentary proceedings against him, which will be found in the State Trials; from the five volumes of his correspondence, edited by Mr. Nichols, and from the first volume of the Stuart papers, edited by Mr. Glover. A very indulgent but a very interesting account of the Bishop's political career will be found in Lord Mahon's valuable History of England.

JOHN BUNYAN.

JOHN BUNYAN, the most popular religious writer in the English language, was born at Elstow, about a mile from Bedford, in the year 1628. He may be said to have been born a tinker. The tinkers then formed a hereditary caste, which was held in no high estimation. They were generally vagrants and pilferers, and were often confounded with the gipsies, whom in truth they nearly resembled. Bunyan's father was more respectable than most of the tribe. He had a fixed residence, and was able to send his son to a village school where reading and writing were taught.

The years of John's boyhood were those during which the puritan spirit was in the highest vigour all over England; and nowhere had that spirit more influence than in Bedfordshire. It is not wonderful, therefore, that a lad to whom nature had given a powerful imagination and sensibility which amounted to a disease, should have been early haunted by religious terrors. Before he was ten, his sports were interrupted by fits of remorse and despair; and his sleep was disturbed by dreams of fiends trying to fly away with him. As he grew older, his mental conflicts became still more violent. The strong language in which he described them has strangely misled all his biographers except Mr. Southey. It has long been an ordinary practice with pious writers to cite Bunyan as an instance of the supernatural power of divine grace to rescue the human soul from the lowest depths of wickedness. He is called in one book the most notorious of profligates; in another, the brand plucked from the burning. He is designated in Mr. Ivimey's History of the Baptists as the depraved Bunyan, the wicked tinker of Elstow. Mr. Ryland, a man once of great note among the Dissenters, breaks out into the following rhapsody: "No man of common sense and common integrity can deny that Bunyan was a practical atheist, a worthless contemptible infidel, a vile rebel to God and goodness, a common profligate, a soul-despising, a soul-murdering, a soul-damning, thoughtless wretch as could exist on the face of the earth. Now be astonished, O heavens, to eternity! and wonder, O earth and hell! while time endures. Behold this very man become a miracle of mercy, a mirror of wisdom, goodness, holiness, thruth, and love." But whoever takes the trouble to examine the evidence will find that the good men who wrote this had been deceived by a phraseology which, as they had been hearing it and using it all their lives, they ought to have understood better. There cannot be a greater mistake than to infer from the strong expressions in which a devout man bemoans his exceeding sinfulness, that he has led a worse life than his neighbours. Many excellent persons, whose moral character from boyhood to old age has been free from any stain discernible to their fellow creatures, have, in their autobiographies and diaries, applied to themselves, and doubtless with sincerity, epithets as severe as could be applied to Titus Oates or Mrs. Brownrigg. It is quite certain that Bunyan was, at eighteen, what, in any but the most austerely puritanical circles, would have been considered as a young man of singular gravity and innocence. Indeed, it may be remarked that he, like many other penitents who, in general terms, acknowledge themselves to have been the worst of mankind, fired up, and stood vigorously on his defence, whenever any particular charge was brought against him by others. He declares, it is true, that he had let loose the reins on the neck of his lusts, that he had delighted in all transgressions against the divine law, and that he had been the ringleader of the youth of Elstow in all manner of vice. But when those who wished him ill accused him of licentious amours, he called on God and the angels to attest his purity. No woman, he said, in heaven, earth, or hell, could charge him with having ever made any improper advances to her. Not only had he been strictly faithful to his wife; but he had, even before his marriage, been perfectly spotless. It does not appear from his own confessions, or from the railings of his enemies, that he ever was drunk in his life. One bad habit he contracted, that of using profane language; but he tells us that a single reproof cured him so effectually that he never offended again. The worst that can be laid to the charge of this poor youth, whom it has been the fashion to represent as the most desperate of reprobates, as a village Rochester, is, that he had a great liking for some diversions, quite harmless in themselves, but condemned by the rigid precisions among whom he lived, and for whose opinion he had a great respect. The four chief sins of which he was guilty were dancing, ringing the bells of the parish church, playing at tipcat, and reading the history of Sir Bevis of Southampton. A rector of the school of Laud would have held such a young man up to the whole parish as a model. But Bunyan's notions of good and evil had been learned in a very different school; and he was made miserable by the conflict between his tastes and his scruples.

When he was about seventeen, the ordinary course of his life was interrupted by an event which gave a lasting colour to his thoughts. He enlisted in the parliamentary army, and served during the decisive campaign of 1645. All that we know of his military career is, that, at the siege of Leicester, one of his comrades, who had taken this post, was killed by a shot from the town. Bunyan ever after considered himself as having been saved from death by the special interference of Providence. It may be observed, that his imagination was strongly impressed by the glimpse which he had caught of the pomp of war. To the last he loved to draw his illustrations of sacred things from camps and fortresses, from guns, drums, trumpets, flags of truce, and regiments arrayed, each under its own banner. His Greatheart, his Captain Boanerges, and his Captain Credence, are evidently portraits, of which the originals were among those martial saints who fought and expounded in Fairfax's army.

In a few months Bunyan returned home, and married. His wife had some pious relations, and brought him as her only portion some pious books. And now his mind, excitable by nature, very imperfectly disciplined by education, and exposed, without any protection, to the infectious virulence of the enthusiasm which was then epidemic in England, began to be fearfully disordered. In outward things he soon became a strict Pharisee. He was constant in attendance at prayers and sermons. His favourite amusements were, one after another, relinquished, though not without many painful struggles. In the middle of a game at tipcat he paused, and stood staring wildly upwards with his stick in his hand. He had heard a voice asking him whether he would leave his sins and go to heaven, or keep his sins and go to hell; and he had seen an awful countenance frowning on him from the sky. The odious vice of bell-ringing he renounced; but he still for a time ventured to go to the church tower and look on while others pulled the ropes. But soon the thought struck him that, if he persisted in such wickedness, the steeple would fall on his head; and he fled in terror from the accursed place. To give up dancing on the village green was still harder; and some months elapsed before he had the fortitude to part with his darling sin. When this last sacrifice had been made, he was, even when tried by the maxims of that austere time, faultless. All Elstow talked of him as an eminently pious youth. But his own mind was more unquiet than ever. Having nothing more to do in the way of visible reformation, yet finding in religion no pleasures to supply the place of the juvenile amusements which he had relinquished, he began to apprehend that he lay under some special malediction; and he was tormented by a succession of fantasies which seemed likely to drive him to suicide or to Bedlam.

At one time he took it into his head that all persons of Israelite blood would be saved, and tried to make out that he partook of that blood; but his hopes were speedily destroyed by his father, who seems to have had no ambition to be regarded as a Jew.

At another time Bunyan was disturbed by a strange dilemma: "If I have not faith, I am lost; if I have faith, I can work miracles." He was tempted to cry to the puddles between Elstow and Bedford, "Be ye dry," and to stake his eternal hopes on the event.

Then he took up a notion that the day of grace for Bedford and the neighbouring villages was past; that all who were to be saved in that part of England were already converted; and that he had begun to pray and strive some months too late.

Then he was harassed by doubts whether the Turks were not in the right, and the Christians in the wrong. Then he was troubled by a maniacal impulse which prompted him to pray to the trees, to a broomstick, to the parish bull. As yet, however, he was only entering the Valley of the Shadow of Death. Soon the darkness grew thicker. Hideous forms floated before him. Sounds of cursing and wailing were in his ears. His way ran through stench and fire, closed to the mouth of the bottomless pit. He began to be haunted by a strange curiosity about the unpardonable sin, and by a morbid longing to commit it. But the most frightful of all the forms which his disease took was a propensity to utter blasphemy, and especially to renounce his share in the benefits of the redemption. Night and day, in bed, at table, at work, evil sprits, as he imagined, were repeating close to his ear the words, "Sell him, sell him." He struck at the hobgoblins; he pushed them from him; but still they were ever at his side. He cried out in answer to them, hour after hour, "Never, never; not for thousands of worlds; not for thousands." At length, worn out by this long agony, he suffered the fatal words to escape him, "Let him go if he will." Then his misery became more fearful than ever. He had done what could not be forgiven. He had forfeited his part of the great sacrifice. Like Esau, he had sold his birthright; and there was no longer any place for repentance. "None," he afterwards wrote, "knows the terrors of those days but myself." He has described his sufferings with singular energy, simplicity, and pathos. He envied the brutes; he envied the very stones on the street, and the tiles on the houses. The sun seemed to withhold its light and warmth from him. His body, though cast in a sturdy mould, and though still in the highest vigour of youth, tembled whole days together with the fear of death and judgment. He fancied that this trembling was the sign set on the worst reprobates, the sign which God had put on Cain. The unhappy man's emotion destroyed his power of digestion. He had such pains that he expected to burst asunder like Judas, whom he regarded as his prototype.

Neither the books which Bunyan read, nor the advisers whom he consulted, were likely to do much good in a case like his. His small library had received a most unseasonable addition, the account of the lamentable end of Francis Spira. One ancient man of high repute for piety, whom the sufferer consulted, gave an opinion which might well have produced fatal consequences. "I am afraid," said Bunyan, "that I have committed the sin against the Holy Ghost." "Indeed," said the old fanatic, "I am afraid that you have."

At length the clouds broke; the light became clearer and clearer; and the enthusiast who had imagined that he was branded with the mark of the first murderer, and distined to the end of the arch traitor, enjoyed peace and a cheerful confidence in the mercy of God. Years elapsed, however, before his nerves, which had been so perilously overstrained, recovered their tone. When he had joined a Baptist society at Bedford, and was for the first time admitted to partake of the Eucharist, it was with difficulty that he could refrain from imprecating destruction on his brethren while the cup was passing from hand to hand. After he had been some time a member of the congregation, he began to preach; and his sermons produced a powerful effect. He was indeed illiterate; but he spoke to illiterate men. The severe training through which he had passed had given him such an experimental knowledge of all the modes of religious melancholy as he could never have gathered from books; and his vigorous genius, animated by a fervent spirit of devotion, enabled him not only to exercise a great influence over the vulgar, but even to extort the half contemptuous admiration of scholars. Yet it was long before he ceased to be tormented by an impulse which urged him to utter words of horrible impiety in the pulpit.

Counter-irritants are of as great use in moral as in physical diseases. It should seem that Bunyan was finally relieved from the internal sufferings which had embittered his life by sharp persecution from without. He had been five years a preacher, when the Restoration put it in the power of the Cavalier gentlemen and clergymen all over the country to oppress the Dissenters; and, of all the Dissenters whose history is known to us, he was perhaps the most hardly treated. In November 1660 he was flung into Bedford gaol; and there he remained, with some intervals of partial and precarious liberty, during twelve years. His persecutors tried to extort from him a promise that he would abstain from preaching; but he was convinced that he was divinely set apart and commissioned to be a teacher of righteousness, and he was fully determined to obey God rather than man. He was brought before several tribunals, laughed at, caressed, reviled, menaced, but in vain. He was facetiously told that he was quite right in thinking that he ought not to hide his gift; but that his real gift was skill in repairing old kettles. He was compared to Alexander the coppersmith. He was told that, if he would give up preaching he should be instantly liberated. He was warned that if he persisted in disobeying the law, he would be liable to banishment, and that, if he were found in England after a certain time, his neck would be stretched. His answer was, "If you let me out to-day, I will preach again to-morrow." Year after year he lay patiently in a dungeon, compared with which the worst prison now to be found in the island is a palace. His fortitude is the more extraordinary, because his domestic feelings were unusually strong. Indeed, he was considered by his stern brethren as somewhat too fond and indulgent a parent. He had several small children, and among them a daughter who was blind, and whom he loved with peculiar tenderness. He could not, he said, bear even to let the wind blow on her; and now she must suffer cold and hunger; she must beg; she mnsr be beaten; "yet" he added, "I must, I must do it." While he lay in prison he could do nothing in the way of his old trade for the support of his family. He determined therefore to take up a new trade. He learned to make long tagged thread laces; and many thousands of these articles were furnished by him to the hawkers. While his hands were thus busied, he had other employment for his mind and his lips. He gave religious instruction to his fellow-captives, and formed from among them a little flock, of which he was himself the pastor. He studied indefatigably the few books which he possessed. His two chief companions were the Bible and Fox's Book of Martyrs. His knowledge of the Bible was such that he might have been called a living concordance; and on the margin of his copy of the Book of Martyrs are still legible the ill spelt lines of doggrel in which he expressed his reverence for the brave sufferers, and his implacable enmity to the mystical Babylon.

At length he began to write, and, though it was some time before he discovered where his strength lay, his writings were not unsuccessful. They were coarse, indeed, but they showed a keen mother wit, a great command of the homely mother tongue, an intimate knowledge of the English Bible, and a vast and dearly bought spiritual experience. They therefore, when the corrector of the press had improved the syntax and the spelling, were well received by the humbler class of Dissenters.

Much of Bunyan's time was spent in controversy. He wrote sharply against the Quakers, whom he seems always to have held in utter abhorrence. It is, however, a remarkable fact that he adopted one of their peculiar fashions: his practice was to write, not November or December, but eleventh month and twelfth month.

He wrote against the liturgy of the Church of England. No two things, according to him, had less affinity than the form of prayer and the spirit of prayer. Those, he said with much point, who have most of the spirit of prayer are all to be found in gaol; and those who have most zeal for the form of prayer are all to be found at the alehouse. The doctrinal articles, on the other hand, he warmly praised and defended against some Arminian clergymen who had signed them. The most acrimonious of all his works is his answer to Edward Fowler, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, an excellent man, but not free from the taint of Pelagianism.

Bunyan had also a dispute with some of the chiefs of the sect to which he belonged. He doubtless held with perfect sincerity the distinguishing tenet of that sect, but he did not consider that tenet as one of high importance, and willingly joined in communion with pious Presbyterians and Independents. The sterner Baptists, therefore, loudly pronounced him a false brother. A controversy arose which long survived the original combatants. In our own time the cause which Bunyan had defended with rude logic and rhetoric against Kiffin and Danvers, was pleaded by Robert Hall with an ingenuity and eloquence such as no polemical writer has ever surpassed.

During the years which immediately followed the Restoration, Bunyan's confinement seems to have been strict. But as the passions of 1660 cooled, as the hatred with which the Puritans had been regarded while their reign was recent gave place to pity, he was less and less harshly treated. The distress of his family, and his own patience, courage, and piety, softened the hearts of his persecutors. Like his own Christian in the cage, he found protectors even among the crowd of Vanity Fair. The Bishop of the diocese, Dr. Barlow, is said to have interceded for him. At length the prisoner was suffered to pass most of his time beyond the walls of the gaol, on condition, as it should seem, that he remained within the town of Bedford.

He owed his complete liberation to one of the worst acts of one of the worst governments that England has ever seen. In 1671 the Cabal was in power. Charles II. had concluded the treaty by which he bound himself to set up the Roman Catholic religion in England. The first step which he took towards that end was to annul, by an unconstitutional exercise of his prerogative, all the penal statutes against the Roman Catholics; and, in order to disguise his real design, he annulled at the same time the penal statutes against Protestant nonconformists. Bunyan was consequently set at large. In the first warmth of his gratitude he published a tract in which he compared Charles to that humane and generous Persian king who, though not himself blessed with the light of the true religion, favoured the chosen people, and permitted them, after years of captivity, to rebuild their beloved temple. To candid men, who consider how much Bunyan had suffered, and how little he could guess the secret designs of the court, the unsuspicious thankfulness with which he accepted the precious boon of freedom will not appear to require any apology.

Before he left his prison he had begun the book which has made his name immortal. The history of that book is remarkable. The author was, as he tells us, writing a treatise, in which he had occasion to speak of the stages of the Christian progress. He compared that progress, as many others had compared it, to a pilgrimage. Soon his quick wit discovered innumerable points of similarity which had escaped his predecessors. Images came crowding on his mind faster than he could put them into words, quagmires and pits, steep hills, dark and horrible glens, soft vales, sunny pastures, a gloomy castle of which the courtyard was strewn with the skulls and bones of murdered prisoners, a town all bustle and splendour, like London on the Lord Mayor's Day, and the narrow path, straight as a rule could make it, running on up hill and down hill, through city and through wilderness, to the Black River and the Shining Gate. He had found out, as most people would have said, by accident, as he would doubtless have said, by the guidance of Providence, where his powers lay. He had no suspicion, indeed, that he was producing a masterpiece. He could not guess what place his allegory would occupy in English literature; for of English literature he knew nothing. Those who suppose him to have studied the Fairy Queen might easily be confuted, if this were the proper place for a detailed examination of the passages in which the two allegories have been thought to resemble each other. The only work of fiction, in all probability, with which he could compare his Pilgrim, was his old favourite, the legend of Sir Bevis of Southampton. He would have thought it a sin to borrow any time from the serious business of his life, from his expositions, his controversies, and his lace tags, for the purpose of amusing himself with what he considered merely as a trifle. It was only, he assures us, at spare moments that he returned to the House Beautiful, the Delectable Mountains, and the Enchanted Ground. He had no assistance. Nobody but himself saw a line till the whole was complete. He then consulted his pious friends. Some were pleased. Others were much scandalized. It was a vain story, a mere romance, about giants, and lions, and goblins, and warriors, sometimes fighting with monsters, and sometimes regaled by fair ladies in stately palaces. The loose atheistical wits at Will's might write such stuff to divert the painted Jezebels of the court: but did it become a minister of the gospel to copy the evil fashions of the world? There had been a time when the cant of such fools would have made Bunyan miserable. But that time was past; and his mind was now in a firm and healthy state. He saw that in employing fiction to make truth clear and goodness attractive, he was only following the example which every Christian ought to propose to himself; and he determined to print.

The *Pilgrim's Progress* stole silently into the world. Not a single copy of the first edition is known to be in existence. The year of publication has not been ascertained. It is probable that, during some months, the little volume circulated only among poor and obscure sectaries. But soon the irresistible charm of a book which gratified the imagination of the reader with all the action and scenery of a fairy tale, which exercised his ingenuity by setting him to discover a multitude of curious analogies, which interested his feelings for human beings, frail like himself, and struggling with temptations from within and from without, which every moment drew a smile from him by some stroke of quaint yet simple pleasantry, and nevertheless left on his mind a sentiment of reverence for God and of sympathy for man, began to produce its effect. In puritanical circles, from which plays and novels were strictly excluded, that effect was such as no work of genius, though it were superior to the Iliad, to Don Quixote, or to Othello, can ever produce on a mind accustomed to indulge in literary luxury. In 1678 came forth a second edition with additions; and then the demand became immense. In the four following years the book was reprinted six times. The eighth edition, which contains the last improvements made by the author, was published in 1682, the ninth in 1684, the tenth in 1685. The help of the engraver had early been called in; and tens of thousands of children looked with terror and delight on execrable copper-plates, which represented Christian thrusting its sword into Apollyon, or writhing in the grasp of Giant Despair. In Scotland, and in some of the colonies, the Pilgrim was even more popular than in his native country. Bunyan has told us, with very pardonable vanity, that in New England his dream was the daily subject of the conversation of thousands, and was thought worthy to appear in the most superb binding. He had numerous admirers in Holland, and among the Huguenots of France. With the pleasures, however, he experienced some of the pains of eminence. Knavish booksellers put forth volumes of trash under his name, and envious scribblers maintained it to be impossible that the poor ignorant tinker should really be the author of the book which was called his.

He took the best way to confound both those who counterfeited him and those who slandered him. He continued to work the Gold-field which he had discovered, and to draw from it new treasures, not indeed with quite such ease and in quite such abundance as when the precious soil was still virgin, but yet with success which left all competition far behind. In 1684 appeared the second part of the *Pilgrim's Progress.* It was soon followed by the *Holy War,* which if the *Pilgrim's Progress* did not exist, would be the best allegory that ever was written.

Bunyan's place in society was now very different from what it had been. There had been a time when many Dissenting ministers, who could talk Latin and read Greek, had affected to treat him with scorn. But his fame and influence now far exceeded theirs. He had so great an authority among the Baptists that he was popularly called Bishop Bunyan. His episcopal visitations were annual. From Bedford he rode every year to London, and preached there to large and attentive congregations. From London he went his circuit through the country, animating the zeal of his brethren, collecting and distributing alms, and making up quarrels. The magistrates seem in general to have given him little trouble. But there is reason to believe that, in the year 1685, he was in some danger of again occupying his old quarters in Bedford gaol. In that year the rash and wicked enterprise of Monmouth gave the Government a pretext for prosecuting the nonconformists; and scarcely one eminent divine of the Presbyterian, Independent, or Baptist persuasion remained unmolested. Baxter was in prison: Howe was driven into exile: Henry was arrested. Two eminent Baptists, with whom Bunyan had been engaged in controversy, were in great peril and distress. Danvers was in danger of being hanged; and Kiffin's grandsons were actually hanged. The tradition is that, during those evil days, Bunyan was forced to disguise himself as a waggoner, and that he preached to his congregation at Bedford in a smock-frock, with a cart-whip in his hand. But soon a great change took place. James the Second was at open war with the church, and found it necessary to court the Dissenters. Some of the creatures of the government tried to secure the aid of Bunyan. They probably knew that he had written in praise of the indulgence of 1672, and therefore hoped that he might be equally pleased with the indulgence of 1687. But fifteen years of thought, observation, and commerce with the world had made him wiser. Nor were the cases exactly parallel. Charles was a professed Protestant: James was a professed Papist. The object of Charles's indulgence was disguised; the object of James's indulgence was patent. Bunyan was not deceived. He exhorted his hearers to prepare themselves by fasting and prayer for the danger which menaced their civil and religious liberties, and refused even to speak to the courtier who came down to remodel the corporation of Bedford, and who, as was supposed, had it in charge to offer some municipal dignity to the Bishop of the Baptists.

Bunyan did not live to see the Revolution. In the summer of 1688 he undertook to plead the cause of a son with an angry father, and at length prevailed on the old man not to disinherit the young one. This good work cost the benevolent intercessor his life. He had to ride through heavy rain. He came drenched to his lodgings on Snow Hill, was seized with a violent fever, and died in a few days. He was buried in Bunhill Fields; and the spot where he lies is still regarded by the nonconformists with a feeling which seems scarcely in harmony with the stern spirit of their theology. Many puritans to whom the respect paid by Roman Catholics to the reliques and tombs of saints seemed childish or sinful, are said to have begged with their dying breath that their coffins might be placed as near as possible to the coffin of the author of the *Pilgrim's Progress*.

The fame of Bunyan during his life, and during the century which followed his death, was indeed great, but was almost entirely confined to religious families of the middle and lower classes. Very seldom was he during that time mentioned with respect by any writer of great literary eminence. Young coupled his prose with the poetry of the wretched D'Urfey. In the Spiritual Quixote, the adventures of Christian are ranked with those of Jack the Giant-Killer and John Hickathrift. Cowper ventured to praise the great allegorist, but did not venture to name him. It is a significant circumstance that, till a recent period, all the numerous editions of the *Pilgrim's Progress* were evidently meant for the cottage and the servants' hall. The paper, the printing, the plates, were all of the meanest description. In general, when the educated minority and the common people differ about the merit of a book, the opinion of the educated minority finally prevails. The *Pilgrim's Progress* is perhaps the only book about which, after the lapse of a hundred years, the educated minority has come over to the opinion of the common people.

The attempts which have been made to improve and to imitate this book are not to be numbered. It has been done into verse: it has been done into modern English. The Pilgrimage of Tender Conscience, the Pilgrimage of by a maid-servant, and was sent in his seventh year to a village school kept by an old quartermaster on half-pay, who professed to teach nothing but reading, writing and arithmetic, but who had an inexhaustible fund of stories about ghosts, banshees, and fairies, about the great Rapparee chiefs, Baldearg O'Donnell and galloping Hogan, and about the exploits of Peterborough and Stanhope, the surprise of Monjuich, and the glorious disaster of Brihuega. This man must have been of the Protestant religion; but he was of the aboriginal race, and not only spoke the Irish language, but could pour forth unpremeditated Irish verses. Oliver early became, and through life continued to be, a passionate admirer of the Irish music, and especially of the compositions of Carolan, some of the last notes of whose harp he heard. It ought to be added that Oliver, though by birth one of the Englishry, and though connected by numerous ties with the Established Church, never showed the least sign of that contemptuous antipathy with which, in his days, the ruling minority in Ireland too generally regarded the subject majority. So far indeed was he from sharing in the opinions and feelings of the caste to which he belonged, that he conceived an aversion to the Glorious and Immortal Memory, and, even when George the Third was on the throne, maintained that nothing but the restoration of the banished dynasty could save the country.

From the humble academy kept by the old soldier Goldsmith was removed in his ninth year. He went to several grammar-schools and acquired some knowledge of the ancient languages. His life at this time seems to have been far from happy. He had, as appears from the admirable portrait of him at Knowle, features harsh even to ugliness. The small-pox had set its mark on him with more than usual severity. His stature was small, and his limbs ill put together. Among boys little tenderness is shown to personal defects; and the ridicule excited by poor Oliver's appearance was heightened by a peculiar simplicity and a disposition to blunder which he retained to the last. He became the common butt of boys and masters, was pointed at as a fright in the play-ground, and flogged as a dunce in the school-room. When he had risen to eminence, those who had once derided him ransacked their memory for the events of his early years, and recited repartees and couplets which had dropped from him, and which, though little noticed at the time, were supposed, a quarter of a century later, to indicate the powers which produced the *Vicar of Wakefield* and the *Deserted Village.*

In his seventeenth year Oliver went up to Trinity College, Dublin, as a sizar. The sizars paid nothing for food and tuition, and very little for lodging; but they had to perform some menial services from which they have long been relieved. They swept the court: they carried up the dinner to the fellows' table, and changed the plates and poured out the ale of the rulers of the society. Goldsmith was quartered, not alone, in a garret, on the window of which his name, scrawled by himself, is still read with interest. From such garrets many men of less parts than his have made their way to the woolsack or to the episcopal bench. But Goldsmith, while he suffered all the humiliations, threw away all the advantages of his situation. He neglected the studies of the place, stood low at the examinations, was turned down to the bottom of his class for playing the buffoon in the lecture room, was severely reprimanded for pumping on a constable, and was caned by a brutal tutor for giving a ball in the attic storey of the college to some gay youths and damsels from the city.

While Oliver was leading at Dublin a life divided between squalid distress and squalid dissipation, his father died, leaving a mere pittance. The youth obtained his bachelor's degree and left the university. During some time the humble dwelling to which his widowed mother had retired was his home. He was now in his twenty-first year; it was necessary that he should do something; and his education seemed to have fitted him to do nothing but to dress himself in gaudy colours, of which he was as fond as a magpie, to take a hand at cards, to sing Irish airs, to play the flute, to angle in summer, and to tell ghost stories by the fire in winter. He tried five or six professions in turn without success. He applied for ordination; but, as he applied in scarlet clothes, he was speedily turned out of the episcopal palace. He then became tutor in an opulent family, but soon quitted his situation in consequence of a dispute about play. Then he determined to emigrate to America. His relations, with much satisfaction, saw him set out for Cork on a good horse, with thirty pounds in his pocket. But in six weeks he came back on a miserable hack, without a penny, and informed his mother that the ship in which he had taken his passage, having got a fair wind while he was at a party of pleasure, had sailed without him. Then he resolved to study the law. A generous kinsman advanced fifty pounds. With this sum Goldsmith went to Dublin, was enticed into a gaming house, and lost every shilling. He then thought of medicine. A small purse was made up; and in his twenty-fourth year he was sent to Edinburgh. At Edinburgh he passed eighteen months in nominal attendance on lectures, and picked up some superficial information about chemistry and natural history. Thence he went to Leyden, still pretending to study physic. He left that celebrated university, the third university at which he had resided, in his twenty-seventh year, without a degree, with the merest smattering of medical knowledge, and with no property but his clothes and his flute. His flute, however, proved a useful friend. He rambled on foot through Flanders, France, and Switzerland, playing tunes which everywhere set the peasantry dancing, and which often procured for him a supper and a bed. He wandered as far as Italy. His musical performances, indeed, were not to the taste of the Italians; but he contrived to live on the alms which he obtained at the gates of convents. It should, however, be observed, that the stories which he told about this part of his life ought to be received with great caution; for strict veracity was never one of his virtues; and a man who is ordinarily inaccurate in narration is likely to be more than ordinarily inaccurate when he talks about his own travels. Goldsmith, indeed, was so regardless of truth as to assert in print that he was present at a most interesting conversation between Voltaire and Fontenelle, and that this conversation took place at Paris. Now it is certain that Voltaire never was within a hundred leagues of Paris during the whole time which Goldsmith passed on the Continent.

In 1756 the wanderer landed at Dover, without a shilling, without a friend, and without a calling. He had, indeed, if his own unsupported evidence may be trusted, obtained from the University of Padua a doctor's degree; but this dignity proved utterly useless to him. In England his flute was not in request: there were no convents; and he was forced to have recourse to a series of desperate expedients. He turned strolling player; but his face and figure were ill suited to the boards even of the humblest theatre. He pounded drugs and ran about London with phials for charitable chemists. He joined a swarm of beggars, which made its nest in Axe Yard. He was for a time usher of a school, and felt the miseries and humiliations of this situation so keenly, that he thought it a promotion to be permitted to earn his bread as a bookseller's hack; but he soon found the new yoke more galling than the old one, and was glad to become an usher again. He obtained a medical appointment in the service of the East India Company; but the appointment was speedily revoked. Why it was revoked we are not told. The subject was one on which he never liked to talk. It is probable that he was incompetent to perform the duties of the place. Then he presented himself at Surgeons' Hall for examination, as mate to a naval hospital. Even to so humble a post he was found unequal. By this time the schoolmaster whom he had served for a morsel of food and the third part of a bed was no more. Nothing remained but to return to the lowest drudgery of literature. Goldsmith took a garret in a miserable court, to which he had to climb from the brink of Fleet Ditch by a dizzy ladder of flagstones called Breakneck Steps. The court and the ascent have long disappeared; but old Londoners well remember both. Here, at thirty, the unlucky adventurer sat down to toil like a galley slave.

In the succeeding six years he sent to the press some things which have survived, and many which have perished. He produced articles for reviews, magazines, and newspapers; children's books, which, bound in gilt paper and adorned with hideous woodcuts, appeared in the window of the once far-samed shop at the corner of Saint Paul's Churchyard; *An Inquiry into the State of Polite Learning in Europe*, which, though of little or no value, is still reprinted among his works; a *Life of Beau Nash*, which is not reprinted, though it well deserves to be so;* a superficial and incorrect, but very readable, *History of England*, in a series of letters purporting to be addressed by a nobleman to his son; and some very lively and amusing *Sketches of London Society*, in a series of letters purporting to be addressed by a Chinese traveller to his friends. All these works were anonymous; but some of them were well known to be Goldsmith's; and he gradually rose in the estimation of the booksellers for whom he drudged. He was, indeed, emphatically a popular writer. For accurate research or grave disquisition he was not well qualified by nature or by education. He knew nothing accurately: his reading had been desultory; nor had he meditated deeply on what he had read. He had seen much of the world; but he had noticed and retained little more of what he had seen than some grotesque incidents and characters which had happened to strike his fancy. But, though his mind was very scantily stored with materials, he used what materials he had in such a way as to produce a wonderful effect. There have been many greater writers ; but perhaps no writer was ever more uniformly agreeable. His style was always pure and easy, and, on proper occasions pointed and energetic. His narratives were always amusing, his descriptions always picturesque, his humour rich and joyous, yet not without an occasional tinge of amiable sadness. About everything that he wrote, serious or sportive, there was a certain natural grace and decorum, hardly to be expected from a man a great part of whose life had been passed among thieves and beggars, street-walkers and merry-andrews, in those squalid dens which are the reproach of great capitals.

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* This is an oversight on the part of Lord Macaulay; Goldsmith's Life of Beau Nash is in the edition of his works edited by Prior, and also in the edition edited by Peter Cunningham, both published by Mr. Murray.

As his name gradually became known, the circle of his acquaintance widened. He was introduced to Johnson, who was then considered as the first of living English writers ; to Reynolds, the first of English painters ; and to Burke, who had not yet entered Parliament, but had distinguished himself greatly by his writings and by the eloquence of his conversation. With these eminent men Goldsmith became intimate. In 1763 he was one of the nine original members of that celebrated fraternity which has sometimes been called the Literary Club, but which has always disclaimed that epithet, and still glories in the simple name of The Club.

By this time Goldsmith had quitted his miserable dwelling at the top of Breakneck Steps, and had taken chambers in the more civilized region of the Inns of Court. But he was still often reduced to pitiable shifts. Towards the close of 1764 his rent was so long in arrear that his landlady one morning called in the help of a sheriff's officer. The debtor, in great perplexity, despatched a messenger to Johnson ; and Johnson, always friendly, though often surly, sent back the messenger with a guinea, and promised to follow speedily. He came, and found that Goldsmith had changed the guinea, and was railing at the landlady over a bottle of Madeira. Johnson put the cork into the bottle, and entreated his friend to consider calmly how money was to be procured. Goldsmith said that he had a novel ready for the press. Johnson glanced at the manuscript, saw that there were good things in it, took it to a bookseller, sold it for £60, and soon returned with the money. The rent was paid; and the sheriff's officer withdrew. According to one story, Goldsmith gave his landlady a sharp reprimand for her treatment of him; according to another, he insisted on her joining him in a bowl of punch. Both stories are probably true. The novel which was thus ushered into the world was the *Vicar of Wakefield.*

But before the *Vicar of Wakefield* appeared in print, came the great crisis of Goldsmith's literary life. In Christmas week 1764, he published a poem, entitled the *Traveller.* It was the first work to which he had put his name; and it at once raised him to the rank of a legitimate English classic. The opinion of the most skilful critics was, that nothing finer had appeared in verse since the fourth book of the *Dunciad.* In one respect the *Traveller* differs from all Goldsmith's other writings. In general his designs were bad, and his execution good. In the *Traveller*, the execution, though deserving of much praise, is far inferior to the design. No philosophical poem, ancient or modern, has a plan so noble, and at the same time so simple. An English wanderer, seated on a crag among the Alps, near the point where three great countries meet, looks down on the boundless prospect, reviews his long pilgrimage, recalls the varieties of scenery, of climate, of government, of religion, of national character, which he has observed, and comes to the conclusion, just or unjust, that our happiness depends little on political institutions, and much on the temper and regulation of our own minds.

While the fourth edition of the *Traveller* was on the counters of the booksellers, the *Vicar of Wakefield* appeared, and rapidly obtained a popularity which has lasted down to our own time, and which is likely to last as long as our language. The fable is indeed one of the worst that ever was constructed. It wants not merely that probability which ought to be found in a tale of common English life, but that consistency which ought to be found even in the wildest fiction about witches, giants, and fairies. But the earlier chapters have all the sweetness of pastoral poetry, together with all the vivacity of comedy. Moses and his spectacles, the vicar and his monogamy, the sharper and his cosmogony, the squire proving from Aristotle that relatives are related, Olivia preparing herself for the arduous task of converting a rakish lover by studying the controversy between Robinson Crusoe and Friday, the great ladies with their scandal about Sir Tomkyn's amours and Dr. Burdock's verses, and Mr. Burchell with his "Fudge," have caused as much harmless mirth as has ever been caused by matter packed into so small a number of pages. The latter part of the tale is unworthy of the beginning. As we approach the catastrophe, the absurdities lie thicker and thicker; and the gleams of pleasantry become rarer and rarer.

The success which had attended Goldsmith as a novelist emboldened him to try his fortune as a dramatist. He wrote the *Goodnatured Man*, a piece which had a worse fate than it deserved. Garrick refused to produce it at Drury Lane. It was acted at Covent Garden in 1768, but was coldly received. The author, however, cleared by his benefit nights, and by the sale of the copyright, no less than £500, five times as much as he had made by the *Traveller* and the *Vicar of Wakefield* together. The plot of the *Goodnatured Man* is, like almost all Goldsmith's plots, very ill constructed. But some passages are exquisitely ludicrous; much more ludicrous, indeed, than suited the taste of the town at that time. A canting, mawkish play, entitled *False Delicacy*, had just had an immense run. Sentimentality was all the mode. During some years, more tears were shed at comedies than at tragedies; and a pleasantry which moved the audience to anything more than a grave smile was reprobated as low. It is not strange, therefore, that the very best scene in the *Goodnatured Man*, that in which Miss Richland finds her lover attended by the bailiff and the bailiff's follower in full court dresses, should have been mercilessly hissed, and should have been omitted after the first night. ✓

In 1770 appeared the *Deserted Village*. In mere diction and versification this celebrated poem is fully equal, perhaps superior to the *Traveller*; and it is generally preferred to the *Traveller* by that large class of readers who think, with Bayes in the *Rehearsal*, that the only use of a plan is to bring in fine things. More discerning judges, however, while they admire the beauty of the details, are shocked by one unpardonable fault which pervades the whole. The fault which we mean is not that theory about wealth and luxury which has so often been censured by political economists. The theory is indeed false: but the poem, considered merely as a poem, is not necessarily the worse on that account. The finest poem in the Latin language, indeed the finest didactic poem in any language, was written in defence of the silliest and meanest of all systems of natural and moral philosophy. A poet may easily be pardoned for reasoning ill; but he cannot be pardoned for describing ill, for observing the world in which he lives so carelessly that his portraits bear no resemblance to the originals, for exhibiting as copies from real life monstrous combinations of things which never were and never could be found together. What would be thought of a painter who should mix August and January in one landscape, who should introduce a frozen river into a harvest scene? Would it be a sufficient defence of such a picture to say that every part was exquisitely coloured, that the green hedges, the apple-trees loaded with fruit, the waggons reeling under the yellow sheaves, and the sun-burned reapers wiping their foreheads were very fine, and that the ice and the boys sliding were also very fine? To such a picture the *Deserted Village* bears a great resemblance. It is made up of incongruous parts. The village in its happy days is a true English village. The village in its decay is an Irish village. The felicity and the misery which Goldsmith has brought close together belong to two different countries, and to two different stages in the progress of society. He had assuredly never seen in his native island such a rural paradise, such a seat of plenty, content, and tranquillity, as his *Auburn*. He had assuredly never seen in England all the inhabitants of such a paradise turned out of their homes in one day and forced to emigrate in a body to America. The hamlet he had probably seen in Kent: the ejectment he had probably seen in Munster; but by joining the two, he has produced something which never was and never will be seen in any part of the world.

In 1773 Goldsmith tried his chance at Covent Garden with a second play, *She Stoops to Conquer*. The manager was not without great difficulty induced to bring this piece out. The sentimental comedy still reigned, and Goldsmith's comedies were not sentimental. The *Goodnatured Man* had been too funny to succeed; yet the mirth of the *Goodnatured Man* was sober when compared with the rich drollery of *She Stoops to Conquer*, which is, in truth, an incomparable farce in five acts. On this occasion, however, genius triumphed. Pit, boxes, and galleries, were in a constant roar of laughter. If any bigoted admirer of Kelly and Cumberland ventured to hiss or groan, he was speedily silenced by a general cry of "turn him out," or "throw him over." Two generations have since confirmed the verdict which was pronounced on that night.

While Goldsmith was writing the *Deserted Village* and *She Stoops to Conquer*, he was employed on works of a very different kind, works from which he derived little reputation but much profit. He compiled for the use of schools a *History of Rome* by which he made £300, a *History of England* by which he made £600, a *History of Greece* for which he received £250, a *Natural History*, for which the booksellers covenanted to pay him 800 guineas. These works he produced without any elaborate research, by merely selecting, abridging, and translating into his own clear, pure, and flowing language, what he found in books well known to the world, but too bulky or too dry for boys and girls. He committed some strange blunders : for he knew nothing with accuracy. Thus in his *History of England* he tells us that Naseby is in Yorkshire ; nor did he correct this mistake when the book was reprinted. He was very nearly hoaxed into putting into the *History of Greece* an account of a battle between Alexander the Great and Montezuma. In his *Animated Nature* he relates, with faith and with perfect gravity, all the most absurd lies which he could find in books of travels about gigantic Patagonians, monkeys that preach sermons, nightingales that repeat long conversations. "If he can tell a horse from a cow," said Johnson, "that is the extent of his knowledge of zoology." How little Goldsmith was qualified to write about the physical sciences is sufficiently proved by two anecdotes. He on one occasion denied that the sun is longer in the northern than in the southern signs. It was vain to cite the authority of Maupertuis. "Maupertuis!" he cried, "I understand those matters better than Maupertuis." On another occasion he, in defiance of the evidence of his own senses, maintained obstinately, and even angrily, that he chewed his dinner by moving his upper jaw.

Yet, ignorant as Goldsmith was, few writers have done more to make the first steps in the laborious road to knowledge easy and pleasant. His compilations are widely distinguished from the compilations of ordinary bookmakers. He was a great, perhaps an unequalled, master of the arts of selection and condensation. In these respects his histories of Rome and of England, and still more his own abridgments of these histories, well deserve to be studied. In general nothing is less attractive than an epitome: but the epitomes of Goldsmith, even when most concise, are always amusing; and to read them is considered by intelligent children not as a task, but as a pleasure.

Goldsmith might now be considered as a prosperous man. He had the means of living in comfort, and even in what to one who had so often slept in barns and on bulks must have been luxury. His fame was great and was constantly rising. He lived in what was intellectually far the best society of the kingdom — in a society in which no talent or accomplishment was wanting, and in which the art of conversation was cultivated with splendid success. There probably were never four talkers, more admirable in four different ways than Johnson, Burke, Beauclerk, and Garrick; and Goldsmith was on terms of intimacy with all the four. He aspired to share in their colloquial renown; but never was ambition more unfortunate. It may seem strange that a man who wrote with so much perspicuity, vivacity, and grace, should have been, whenever he took a part in conversation, an empty, noisy, blundering rattle. But on this point the evidence is overwhelming. So extraordinary was the contrast between Goldsmith's published works and the silly things which he said, that Horace Walpole described him as an inspired idiot. "Noll," said Garrick, "wrote like an angel, and talked like poor Poll." Chamier declared that it was a hard exercise of faith to believe that so foolish a chatterer could have really written the *Traveller*. Even Boswell could say, with contemptuous compassion, that he liked very well to hear honest Goldsmith run on. "Yes, sir," said Johnson, "but he should not like to hear himself." Minds differ as rivers differ. There are transparent and sparkling rivers from which it is delightful to drink as they flow; to such rivers the minds of such men as Burke and Johnson may be compared. But there are rivers of which the water when first drawn is turbid and noisome, but becomes pellucid as crystal and delicious to the taste if it be suffered to stand till it has deposited a sediment; and such a river is a type of the mind of Goldsmith. His first thoughts on every subject were confused even to absurdity, but they required only a little time to work themselves clear. When he wrote they had that time;

and therefore his readers pronounced him a man of genius: but when he talked he talked nonsense, and made himself the laughing-stock of his hearers. He was painfully sensible of his inferiority in conversation; he felt every failure keenly; yet he had not sufficient judgment and self-command to hold his tongue. His animal spirits and vanity were always impelling him to try to do the one thing which he could not do. After every attempt he felt that he had exposed himself, and writhed with shame and vexation; yet the next moment he began again.

His associates seem to have regarded him with kindness, which, in spite of their admiration of his writings, was not unmixed with contempt. In truth, there was in his character much to love, but very little to respect. His heart was soft even to weakness; he was so generous, that he quite forgot to be just; he forgave injuries so readily, that he might be said to invite them, and was so liberal to beggars, that he had nothing left for his tailor and his butcher. He was vain, sensual, frivolous, profuse, improvident. One vice of a darker shade was imputed to him, envy. But there is not the least reason to believe that this bad passion, though it sometimes made him wince and utter fretful exclamations, ever impelled him to injure by wicked arts the reputation of any of his rivals. The truth probably is, that he was not more envious, but merely less prudent than his neighbours. His heart was on his lips. All those small jealousies, which are but too common among men of letters, but which a man of letters who is also a man of the world does his best to conceal, Goldsmith avowed with the simplicity of a child. When he was envious, instead of affecting indifference, instead of damning with faint praise, instead of doing injuries slily and in the dark, he told everybody that he was envious. "Do not, pray, do not, talk of Johnson in such terms," he said to Boswell; "you harrow up my very soul." George Steevens and Cumberland were men far too cunning to say such a thing. They would have echoed the praises of the man whom they envied, and then have sent to the newspapers anonymous libels upon him. Both what was good and what was bad in Goldsmith's character was to his associates a perfect security that he would never commit such villany. He was neither ill-natured enough, nor long-headed enough, to be guilty of any malicious act which required contrivance and disguise.

Goldsmith has sometimes been represented as a man of genius, cruelly treated by the world, and doomed to struggle with difficulties, which at last broke his heart. But no representation can be more remote from the truth. He did, indeed, go through much sharp misery before he had done anything considerable in literature. But after his name had appeared on the title-page of the *Traveller*, he had none but himself to blame for his distresses. His average income, during the last seven years of his life, certainly exceeded £400 a year, and £400 a year ranked, among the incomes of that day, at least as high as £800 a year would rank at present. A single man living in the Temple, with £400 a year, might then be called opulent. Not one in ten of the young gentlemen of good families who were studying the law there had so much. But all the wealth which Lord Clive had brought from Bengal, and Sir Lawrence Dundas from Germany, joined together, would not have sufficed for Goldsmith. He spent twice as much as he had. He wore fine clothes, gave dinners of several courses, paid court to venal beauties. He had also, it should be remembered, to the honour of his heart, though not of his head, a guinea, or five, or ten, according to the state of his purse, ready for any tale of distress, true or false. But it was not in dress or feasting, in promiscuous amours or promiscuous charities, that his chief expense lay. He had been from boyhood a gambler, and at once the most sanguine and the most unskilful of gamblers. For a time he put off the day of inevitable ruin by temporary expedients. He obtained advances from booksellers, by promising to execute works which he never began. But at length this source of supply failed. He owed more than £2000 ; and he saw no hope of extrication from his embarrassments. His spirits and health gave way. He was attacked by a nervous fever, which he thought himself competent to treat. It would have been happy for him if his medical skill had been appreciated as justly by himself as by others. Notwithstanding the degree which he pretended to have received at Padua, he could procure no patients. "I do not practise," he once said; "I make it a rule to prescribe only for my friends." "Pray, dear Doctor," said Beauclerk, "alter your rule; and prescribe only for your enemies." Goldsmith now, in spite of this excellent advice, prescribed for himself. The remedy aggravated the malady. The sick man was induced to call in real physicians; and they at one time imagined that they had cured the disease. Still his weakness and restlessness continued. He could get no sleep. He could take no food. "You are worse," said one of his medical attendants, "than you should be from the degree of fever which you have. Is your mind at ease?" "No; it is not," were the last recorded words of Oliver Goldsmith. He died on the 3rd of April 1774, in his forty-sixth year. He was laid in the churchyard of the Temple; but the spot was not marked by any inscription, and is now forgotten. The coffin was followed by Burke and Reynolds. Both these great men were sincere mourners. Burke, when he heard of Goldsmith's death, had burst into a flood of tears. Reynolds had been so much moved by the news, that he had flung aside his brush and palette for the day.

A short time after Goldsmith's death, a little poem appeared, which will, as long as our language lasts, associate the names of his two illustrious friends with his own. It has already been mentioned that he sometimes felt keenly the sarcasm which his wild blundering talk brought upon him. He was, not long before his last illness, provoked into retaliating. He wisely betook himself to his pen; and at that weapon he proved himself a match for all his assailants together. Within a small compass he drew with a singularly easy and vigorous pencil the characters of nine or ten of his intimate associates. Though this little work did not receive his last touches, it must always be regarded as a masterpiece. It is impossible, however, not to wish that four or five likenesses which have no interest for posterity were wanting to that noble gallery and that their places were supplied by sketches of Johnson and Gibbon, as happy and vivid as the sketches of Burke and Garrick.

Some of Goldsmith's friends and admirers honoured him with a cenotaph in Westminster Abbey. Nollekens was the sculptor; and Johnson wrote the inscription. It is much to be lamented that Johnson did not leave to posterity a more durable and a more valuable memorial of his friend. A life of Goldsmith would have been an inestimable addition to the Lives of the Poets. No man appreciated Goldsmith's writings more justly than Johnson; no man was better acquainted with Goldsmith's character and habits; and no man was more competent to delineate with truth and spirit the peculiarities of a mind in which great powers were found in company with great weaknesses. But the list of poets to whose works Johnson was requested by the booksellers to furnish prefaces ended with Lyttelton, who died in 1773. The line seems to have been drawn expressly for the purpose of excluding the person whose portrait would have most fitly closed the series. Goldsmith, however, has been fortunate in his biographers. Within a few years his life has been written by Mr. Prior, by Mr. Washington Irving, and by Mr. Forster. The diligence of Mr. Prior deserves great praise; the style of Mr. Washington Irving is always pleasing; but the highest place must, in justice, be assigned to the eminently interesting work of Mr. Forster.

SAMUEL JOHNSON.

SAMUEL JOHNSON, one of the most eminent English writers of the eighteenth century, was the son of Michael Johnson, who was, at the beginning of that century, a magistrate of Lichfield, and a bookseller of great note in the midland counties. Michael's abilities and attainments seem to have been considerable. He was so well acquainted with the contents of the volumes which he exposed to sale, that the country rectors of Staffordshire and Worcestershire thought him an oracle on points of learning. Between him and the clergy, indeed, there was a strong religious and political sympathy. He was a zealous churchman, and, though he had qualified himself for municipal office by taking the oaths to the sovereigns in possession, was to the last a Jacobite in heart. At his house, a house which is still pointed out to every traveller who visits Lichfield, Samuel was born on the 18th of September 1709. In the child the physical, intellectual, and moral peculiarities which afterwards distinguished the man were plainly discernible; great muscular strength accompanied by much awkwardness and many infirmities; great quickness of parts, with a morbid propensity to sloth and procrastination; a kind and generous heart, with a gloomy and irritable temper. He had inherited from his ancestors a scrofulous taint, which it was beyond the power of medicine to remove. His parents were weak enough to believe that the royal touch was a specific for this malady. In his third year he was taken up to London, inspected by the court surgeon, prayed over by the court chaplains, and stroked and presented with a piece of gold by Queen Anne. One of his earliest recollections was that of a stately lady in a diamond stomacher and a long black hood. Her hand was applied in vain. The boy's features, which were originally noble and not irregular, were distorted by his malady. His cheeks were deeply scarred. He lost for a time the sight of one eye; and he saw but very imperfectly with the other. But the force of his mind overcame every impediment. Indolent as he was, he acquired knowledge with such ease and rapidity, that at every school to which he was sent he was soon the best scholar. From sixteen to eighteen he resided at home, and was left to his own devices. He learned much at this time, though his studies were without guidance and without plan. He ransacked his father's shelves, dipped into a multitude of books, read what was interesting, and passed over what was dull. An ordinary lad would have acquired little or no useful knowledge in such a way; but much that was dull to ordinary lads was interesting to Samuel. He read little Greek; for his proficiency in that language was not such that he could take much pleasure in the masters of Attic poetry and eloquence. But he had left school a good Latinist, and he soon acquired, in the large and miscellaneous library of which he now had the command, an extensive knowledge of Latin literature. That Augustan delicacy of taste, which is the boast of the great public schools of England, he never possessed. But he was early familiar with some classical writers, who were quite unknown to the best scholars in the sixth form at Eton. He was peculiarly attracted by the works of the great restorers of learning. Once, while searching for some apples, he found a huge folio volume of Petrarch's works. The name excited his curiosity, and he eagerly devoured hundreds of pages. Indeed, the diction and versification of his own Latin compositions show that he had paid at least as much attention to modern copies from the antique as to the original models.

While he was thus irregularly educating himself, his family was sinking into hopeless poverty. Old Michael Johnson was much better qualified to pore upon books, and to talk about them, than to trade in them. His business declined: his debts increased; it was with difficulty that the daily expenses of his household were defrayed. It was out of his power to support his son at either university; but a wealthy neighbour offered assistance; and, in reliance on promises which proved to be of very little value, Samuel was entered at Pembroke College, Oxford. When the young scholar presented himself to the rulers of that society, they were amazed not more by his ungainly figure and eccentric manners than by the quantity of extensive and curious information which he had picked up during many months of desultory, but not unprofitable study. On the first day of his residence he surprised his teachers by quoting Macrobius; and one of the most learned among them declared, that he had never known a freshman of equal attainments.

At Oxford, Johnson resided during about three years. He was poor, even to raggedness; and his appearance excited a mirth and a pity, which were equally intolerable to his haughty spirit. He was driven from the quadrangle of Christ Church by the sneering looks which the members of that aristocratical society cast at the holes in his shoes. Some charitable person placed a new pair at his door; but he spurned them away in a fury. Distress made him, not servile, but reckless and ungovernable. No opulent gentleman commoner, panting for one-and-twenty, could have treated the academical authorities with more gross disrespect. The needy scholar was generally to be seen under the gate of Pembroke, a gate now adorned with his effigy, haranguing a circle of lads, over whom, in spite of his tattered gown and dirty linen, his wit and audacity gave him an undisputed ascendency. In every mutiny against the discipline of the college he was the ringleader. Much was pardoned, however, to a youth so highly distinguished by abilities and acquirements. He had early made himself known by turning Pope's Messiah into Latin verse. The style and rhythm, indeed, were not exactly Virgilian;

but the translation found many admirers, and was read with pleasure by Pope himself.

The time drew near at which Johnson would, in the ordinary course of things, have become a Bachelor of Arts : but he was at the end of his resources. Those promises of support on which he had relied had not been kept. His family could do nothing for him. His debts to Oxford tradesmen were small indeed, yet larger than he could pay. In the autumn of 1731, he was under the necessity of quitting the university without a degree. In the following winter his father died. The old man left but a pittance ; and of that pittance almost the whole was appropriated to the support of his widow. The property to which Samuel succeeded amounted to no more than twenty pounds.

His life, during the thirty years which followed, was one hard struggle with poverty. The misery of that struggle needed no aggravation, but was aggravated by the sufferings of an unsound body and an unsound mind. Before the young man left the university, his hereditary malady had broken forth in a singularly cruel form. He had become an incurable hypochondriac. He said long after that he had been mad all his life, or at least not perfectly sane ; and, in truth, eccentricities less strange than his have often been thought grounds sufficient for absolving felons, and for setting aside wills. His grimaces, his gestures, his mutterings, sometimes diverted and sometimes terrified people who did not know him. At a dinner table he would, in a fit of absence, stoop down and twitch off a lady's shoe. He would amaze a drawing room by suddenly ejaculating a clause of the Lord's Prayer. He would conceive an unintelligibie aversion to a particular alley, and perform a great circuit rather than see the hateful place. He would set his heart on touching every post in the streets through which he walked. If by any chance he missed a post, he would go back a hundred yards and repair the omission. Under the influence of his disease, his senses became morbidly torpid, and his imagination morbidly active. At one time he would stand poring on the town clock without being able to tell the hour. At another, he would distinctly hear his mother, who was many miles off, calling him by his name. But this was not the worst. A deep melancholy took possession of him, and gave a dark tinge to all his views of human nature and of human destiny. Such wretchedness as he endured has driven many men to shoot themselves or drown themselves. But he was under no temptation to commit suicide. He was sick of life; but he was afraid of death; and he shuddered at every sight or sound which reminded him of the inevitable hour. In religion he found but little comfort during his long and frequent fits of dejection; for his religion partook of his own character. The light from heaven shone on him indeed, but not in a direct line, or with its own pure splendour. The rays had to struggle through a disturbing medium: they reached him refracted, dulled and discoloured by the thick gloom which had settled on his soul; and, though they might be sufficiently clear to guide him, were too dim to cheer him.

With such infirmities of body and of mind, this celebrated man was left, at two-and-twenty, to fight his way through the world. He remained during about five years in the midland counties. At Lichfield, his birth-place and his early home, he had inherited some friends and acquired others. He was kindly noticed by Henry Hervey, a gay officer of noble family, who happened to be quartered there. Gilbert Walmesley, registrar of the ecclesiastical court of the diocese, a man of distinguished parts, learning, and knowledge of the world, did himself honour by patronizing the young adventurer, whose repulsive person, unpolished manners, and squalid garb, moved many of the petty aristocracy of the neighbourhood to laughter or to disgust. At Lichfield, however, Johnson could find no way of earning a livelihood. He became usher of a grammar school in Leicestershire; he resided as a humble companion in the house of a country gentleman; but a life of dependence was insupportable to his haughty spirit. He repaired to Birmingham, and there earned a few guineas by literary drudgery. In that town he printed a translation, little noticed at the time, and long forgotten, of a Latin book about Abyssinia. He then put forth proposals for publishing by subscription the poems of Politian, with notes containing a history of modern Latin verse; but subscriptions did not come in ; and the volume never appeared.

While leading this vagrant and miserable life, Johnson fell in love. The object of his passion was Mrs. Elizabeth Porter, a widow who had children as old as himself. To ordinary spectators, the lady appeared to be a short, fat, coarse woman, painted half an inch thick, dressed in gaudy colours, and fond of exhibiting provincial airs and graces which were not exactly those of the Queensberrys and Lepels. To Johnson, however, whose passions were strong, whose eyesight was too weak to distinguish ceruse from natural bloom, and who had seldom or never been in the same room with a woman of real fashion, his Titty, as he called her, was the most beautiful, graceful, and accomplished of her sex. That his admiration was unfeigned cannot be doubted ; for she was as poor as himself. She accepted, with a readiness which did her little honour, the addresses of a suitor who might have been her son. The marriage, however, in spite of occasional wranglings, proved happier than might have been expected. The lover continued to be under the illusions of the wedding-day, till the lady died in her sixty-fourth year. On her monument he placed an inscription extolling the charms of her person and of her manners : and when, long after her decease, he had occasion to mention her, he exclaimed, with a tenderness half ludicrous, half pathetic, " Pretty creature ! "

His marriage made it necessary for him to exert himself more strenuously than he had hitherto done. He took a house in the neighbourhood of his native town, and advertised for pupils. But eighteen months passed away ; and only three pupils came to his academy. Indeed, his appearance was so strange, and his temper so violent, that his schoolroom must have resembled an ogre's den. Nor was the tawdry painted grandmother whom he called his Titty, well qualified to make provision for the comfort of young gentlemen. David Garrick, who was one of the pupils, used many years later, to throw the best company of London into convulsions of laughter by mimicking the endearments of this extraordinary pair.

At length Johnson, in the twenty-eighth year of his age, determined to seek his fortune in the capital as a literary adventurer. He set out with a few guineas, three acts of the tragedy of Irene in manuscript, and two or three letters of introduction from his friend Walmesley.

Never since literature became a calling in England had it been a less gainful calling than at the time when Johnson took up his residence in London. In the preceding generation a writer of eminent merit was sure to be munificently rewarded by the government. The least that he could expect was a pension or a sinecure place; and, if he showed any aptitude for politics, he might hope to be a member of parliament, a lord of the treasury, an ambassador, a secretary of state. It would be easy, on the other hand, to name several writers of the nineteenth century of whom the least successful has received forty thousand pounds from the booksellers. But Johnson entered on his vocation in the most dreary part of the dreary interval which separated two ages of prosperity. Literature had ceased to flourish under the patronage of the great, and had not begun to flourish under the patronage of the public. One man of letters, indeed, Pope, had acquired by his pen what was then considered as a handsome fortune, and lived on a footing of equality with nobles and ministers of state. But this was a solitary exception. Even an author whose reputation was established, and whose works were popular, such an author as Thomson, whose Seasons were in every library, such an author as Fielding, whose Pasquin had had a greater run than any drama since the Beggars' Opera, was sometimes glad to obtain, by pawning his best coat, the means of dining on tripe at a cookshop underground, where he could wipe his hands, after his greasy meal, on the back of a Newfoundland dog. It is easy, therefore, to imagine what humiliations and privations must have awaited the novice who had still to earn a name. One of the publishers to whom Johnson applied for employment measured with a scornful eye that athletic though uncouth frame, and exclaimed, "You had better get a porter's knot, and carry trunks." Nor was the advice bad, for a porter was likely to be as plentifully fed, and as comfortably lodged, as a poet.

Some time appears to have elapsed before Johnson was able to form any literary connection from which he could expect more than bread for the day which was passing over him. He never forgot the generosity with which Hervey, who was now residing in London, relieved his wants during this time of trial. "Harry Hervey," said the old philosopher many years later, "was a vicious man; but he was very kind to me. If you call a dog Hervey, I shall love him." At Hervey's table Johnson sometimes enjoyed feasts which were made more agreeable by contrast. But in general he dined, and thought that he dined well, on sixpennyworth of meat, and a pennyworth of bread at an ale-house near Drury Lane.

The effect of the privations and sufferings which he endured at this time was discernible to the last in his temper and his deportment. His manners had never been courtly. They now became almost savage. Being frequently under the necessity of wearing shabby coats and dirty shirts, he became a confirmed sloven. Being often very hungry when he sate down to his meals, he contracted a habit of eating with ravenous greediness. Even to the end of his life, and even at the tables of the great, the sight of food affected him as it affects wild beasts and birds of prey. His taste in cookery, formed in subterranean ordinaries and *Alamode* beef-shops, was far from delicate. Whenever he was so fortunate as to have near him a hare that had been kept too long, or a meat pie made with rancid butter, he gorged himself with such violence that his veins swelled, and the moisture broke out on his forehead. The affronts which his poverty emboldened stupid and low-minded men to offer to him, would have broken a mean spirit into sycophancy, but made him rude even to ferocity. Unhappily the insolence which, while it was defensive, was pardonable, and in some sense respectable, accompanied him into societies where he was treated with courtesy and kindness. He was repeatedly provoked into striking those who had taken liberties with him. All the sufferers, however, were wise enough to abstain from talking about their beatings, except Osborne, the most rapacious and brutal of booksellers, who proclaimed everywhere that he had been knocked down by the huge fellow whom he had hired to puff the Harleian Library.

About a year after Johnson had begun to reside in London, he was fortunate enough to obtain regular employment from Cave, an enterprising and intelligent bookseller, who was proprietor and editor of the Gentleman's Magazine. That journal, just entering on the ninth year of its long existence, was the only periodical work in the kingdom which then had what would now be called a large circulation. It was indeed, the chief source of parliamentary intelligence. It was not then safe, even during a recess, to publish an account of the proceedings of either House without some disguise. Cave, however, ventured to entertain his readers with what he called Reports of the Debates of the Senate of Lilliput. France was Blefuscu: London was Mildendo: pounds were sprugs: the Duke of Newcastle was the Nardac secretary of state: Lord Hardwicke was the Hugo Hickrad; and William Pulteney was Wingul Pulnub. To write the speeches was, during several years, the business of Johnson. He was generally furnished with notes, meagre indeed, and inaccurate, of what had been said; but sometimes he had to find arguments and eloquence both for the ministry and for the opposition. He was himself a Tory, not from rational conviction — for his serious opinion was that one form of government was just as good or as bad as another — but from mere passion, such as inflamed the Capulets against the Montagues, or the Blues of the Roman circus against the Greens. In his infancy he had heard so much talk about the villanies of the Whigs, and the dangers of the Church, that he had become a furious partisan when he could scarcely speak. Before he was three he had insisted on being taken to hear Sacheverell preach at Lichfield Cathedral, and had listened to the sermon with as much respect, and probably with as much intelligence, as any Staffordshire squire in the congregation. The work which had been begun in the nursery had been completed by the university. Oxford, when Johnson resided there, was the most Jacobitical place in England; and Pembroke was one of the most Jacobitical colleges in Oxford. The prejudices which he brought up to London were scarcely less absurd than those of his own Tom Tempest. Charles II. and James II. were two of the best kings that ever reigned. Laud, a poor creature who never did, said, or wrote any thing indicating more than the ordinary capacity of an old woman, was a prodigy of parts and learning over whose tomb Art and Genius still continued to weep. Hampden deserved no more honourable name than that of "the zealot of rebellion." Even the ship money, condemned not less decidedly by Falkland and Clarendon than by the bitterest Roundheads, Johnson would not pronounce to have been an unconstitutional impost. Under a government the mildest that had ever been known in the world — under a government which allowed to the people an unprecedented liberty of speech and action, he fancied that he was a slave; he assailed the ministry with obloquy which refuted itself, and regretted the lost freedom and happiness of those golden days in which a writer who had taken but one-tenth part of the license allowed to him would have been pilloried, mangled with the shears, whipped at the cart's tale, and flung into a noisome dungeon to die. He hated dissenters and stock-jobbers, the excise and the army, septennial parliaments, and continental connections. He long had an aversion to the Scotch, an aversion of which he could not remember the commencement, but which, he owned, had probably originated in his abhorrence of the conduct of the nation during the Great Rebellion. It is easy to guess in what manner debates on great party questions were likely to be reported by a man whose judgment was so much disordered by party spirit. A show of fairness was indeed necessary to the prosperity of the Magazine. But Johnson long afterwards owned that, though he had saved appearances, he had taken care that the Whig dogs should not have the best of it; and, in fact, every passage which has lived, every passage which bears the marks of his higher faculties, is put into the mouth of some member of the opposition.

A few weeks after Johnson had entered on these obscure labours, he published a work which at once placed him high among the writers of his age. It is probable that what he had suffered during his first year in London had often reminded him of some parts of that noble poem in which Juvenal had described the misery and degradation of a needy man of letters, lodged among the pigeons' nests in the tottering garrets which overhung the streets of Rome. Pope's admirable imitations of Horace's Satires and Epistles had recently appeared, were in every hand, and were by many readers thought superior to the originals. What Pope had done for Horace, Johnson aspired to do for Juvenal. The enterprise was bold, and yet judicious. For between Johnson and Juvenal there was much in common, much more certainly than between Pope and Horace.

Johnson's London appeared without his name in May 1738. He received only ten guineas for this stately and vigorous poem: but the sale was rapid, and the success complete. A second edition was required within a week. Those small critics who are always desirous to lower established reputations ran about proclaiming that the anonymous satirist was superior to Pope in Pope's own peculiar department of literature. It ought to be remembered, to the honour of Pope, that he joined heartily in the applause with which the appearance of a rival genius was welcomed. He made inquiries about the author of London. Such a man, he said, could not long be concealed. The name was soon discovered; and Pope, with great kindness, exerted himself to obtain an academical degree and the mastership of a grammar school for the poor young poet. The attempt failed, and Johnson remained a bookseller's hack.

It does not appear that these two men, the most eminent writer of the generation which was going out, and the most eminent writer of the generation which was coming in, ever saw each other. They lived in very different circles, one surrounded by dukes and earls, the other by starving pamphleteers and index-makers. Among Johnson's associates at this time may be mentioned Boyse, who, when his shirts were pledged, scrawled Latin verses sitting up in bed with his arms through two holes in his blankets; who composed very respectable sacred poetry when he was sober, and who was at last run over by a hackney coach when he was drunk; Hoole, surnamed the metaphysical tailor, who, instead of attending to his measures, used to trace geometrical diagrams on the board where he sate cross-legged; and the penitent impostor, George Psalmanazar, who, after poring all day in a humble lodging, on the folios of Jewish rabbis and Christian fathers, indulged himself at night with literary and theological conversation at an alehouse in the city. But the most remarkable of the persons with whom at this time Johnson consorted, was Richard Savage, an earl's son, a shoemaker's apprentice, who had seen life in all its forms, who had feasted among blue ribbands in Saint James's Square, and had lain with fifty pounds weight of irons on his legs, in the condemned ward of Newgate. This man had, after many vicissitudes of fortune, sunk at last into abject and hopeless poverty. His pen had failed him. His patrons had been taken away by death, or estranged by the riotous profusion with which he squandered their bounty, and the ungrateful insolence with which he rejected their advice. He now lived by begging. He dined on venison and champagne whenever he had been so fortunate as to borrow a guinea. If his questing had been unsuccessful, he appeased the rage of hunger with some scraps of broken meat, and lay down to rest under the Piazza of Covent Garden in warm weather, and, in cold weather, as near as he could get to the furnace of a glass house. Yet, in his misery, he was still an agreeable companion. He had an inexhaustible store of anecdotes about that gay and brilliant world from which he was now an outcast. He had observed the great men of both parties in hours of careless relaxation, had seen the leaders of opposition without the mask of patriotism, and had heard the prime minister roar with laughter and tell stories not over decent. During some months Savage lived in the closest familiarity with Johnson; and then the friends parted, not without tears. Johnson remained in London to drudge for Cave. Savage went to the West of England, lived there as he had lived everywhere, and, in 1743, died, penniless and heart-broken, in Bristol gaol.

Soon after his death, while the public curiosity was strongly excited about his extraordinary character, and his not less extraordinary adventures, a life of him appeared widely different from the catchpenny lives of eminent men which were then a staple article of manufacture in Grub Street. The style was indeed deficient in ease and variety; and the writer was evidently too partial to the Latin element of our language. But the little work, with all its faults, was a masterpiece. No finer specimen of literary biography existed in any language, living or dead; and a discerning critic might have confidently predicted that the author was destined to be the founder of a new school of English eloquence.

The life of Savage was anonymous; but it was well known in literary circles that Johnson was the writer. During the three years which followed, he produced no important work; but he was not, and indeed could not be, idle. The fame of his abilities and learning continued to grow. Warburton pronounced him a man of parts and genius; and the praise of Warburton was then no light thing. Such was Johnson's reputation that, in 1747, several eminent booksellers combined to employ him in the arduous work of preparing a Dictionary of the English Language, in two folio volumes. The sum which they agreed to pay him was only fifteen hundred guineas; and out of this sum he had to pay several poor men of letters who assisted him in the humbler parts of his task.

The Prospectus of the Dictionary he addressed to the Earl of Chesterfield. Chesterfield had long been celebrated for the politeness of his manners, the brilliancy of his wit, and the delicacy of his taste. He was acknowledged to be the finest speaker in the House of Lords. He had recently governed Ireland, at a momentous conjuncture, with eminent firmness, wisdom, and humanity; and he had since become Secretary of State. He received Johnson's homage with the most winning affability, and requited it with a few guineas, bestowed doubtless in a very graceful manner, but was by no means desirous to see all his carpets blackened with the London mud, and his soups and wines thrown to right and left over the gowns of fine ladies and the waistcoats of fine gentlemen, by an absent, awkward scholar, who gave strange starts and uttered strange growls, who dressed like a scarecrow, and ate like a cormorant. During some time Johnson continued to call on his patron, but, after being repeatedly told by the porter that his lordship was not at home, took the hint, and ceased to present himself at the inhospitable door.

Johnson had flattered himself that he should have completed his Dictionary by the end of 1750; but it was not till 1755 that he at length gave his huge volumes to the world. During the seven years which he passed in the drudgery of penning definitions and marking quotations for transcription, he sought for relaxation in literary labour of a more agreeable kind. In 1749 he published the Vanity of Human Wishes, an excellent imitation of the Tenth Satire of Juvenal. It is in truth not easy to say whether the palm belongs to the ancient or to the modern poet. The couplets in which the fall of Wolsey is described, though lofty and sonorous, are feeble when compared with the wonderful lines which bring before us all Rome in tumult on the day of the fall of Sejanus, the laurels on the doorposts, the white bull stalking towards the Capitol, the statues rolling down from their pedestals, the flatterers of the disgraced minister running to see him dragged with a hook through the streets, and to have a kick at his carcass before it is hurled into the Tiber. It must be owned too that in the concluding passage the Christian moralist has not made the most of his advantages, and has fallen decidedly short of the sublimity of his Pagan model. On the other hand, Juvenal's Hannibal must yield to Johnson's Charles; and Johnson's vigorous and pathetic enumeration of the miseries of a literary life must be allowed to be superior to Juvenal's lamentation over the fate of Demosthenes and Cicero.

For the copyright of the Vanity of Human Wishes Johnson received only fifteen guineas.

A few days after the publication of this poem, his tragedy, begun many years before, was brought on the stage. His pupil, David Garrick, had, in 1741, made his appearance on a humble stage in Goodman's fields, had at once risen to the first place among actors, and was now, after several years of almost uninterrupted success, manager of Drury

Lane Theatre. The relation between him and his old preceptor was of a very singular kind. They repelled each other strongly, and yet attracted each other strongly. Nature had made them of very different clay; and circumstances had fully brought out the natural peculiarities of both. Sudden prosperity had turned Garrick's head. Continued adversity had soured Johnson's temper. Johnson saw with more envy than became so great a man the villa, the plate, the china, the Brussels carpet, which the little mimic had got by repeating, with grimaces and gesticulations, what wiser men had written; and the exquisitely sensitive vanity of Garrick was galled by the thought that, while all the rest of the world was applauding him, he could obtain from one morose cynic, whose opinion it was impossible to despise, scarcely any compliment not acidulated with scorn. Yet the two Lichfield men had so many early recollections in common, and sympathized with each other on so many points on which they sympathized with nobody else in the vast population of the capital, that, though the master was often provoked by the monkey-like impertinence of the pupil, and the pupil by the bearish rudeness of the master, they remained friends till they were parted by death. Garrick now brought Irene out, with alterations sufficient to displease the author, yet not sufficient to make the piece pleasing to the audience. The public, however, listened, with little emotion, but with much civility, to five acts of monotonous declamation. After nine representations the play was withdrawn. It is, indeed, altogether unsuited to the stage, and, even when perused in the closet, will be found hardly worthy of the author. He had not the slightest notion of what blank verse should be. A change in the last syllable of every other line would make the versification of the Vanity of Human Wishes closely resemble the versification of Irene. The poet, however, cleared, by his benefit nights, and by the sale of the copyright of his tragedy, about three hundred pounds, then a great sum in his estimation.

M. L.

About a year after the representation of Irene, he began to publish a series of short essays on morals, manners, and literature. This species of composition had been brought into fashion by the success of the Tatler, and by the still more brilliant success of the Spectator. A crowd of small writers had vainly attempted to rival Addison. The Lay Monastery, the Censor, the Freethinker, the Plain Dealer, the Champion, and other works of the same kind, had had their short day. None of them had obtained a permanent place in our literature; and they are now to be found only in the libraries of the curious. At length Johnson undertook the adventure in which so many aspirants had failed. In the thirty-sixth year after the appearance of the last number of the Spectator, appeared the first number of the Rambler. From March 1750 to March 1752, this paper continued to come out every Tuesday and Saturday.

From the first the Rambler was enthusiastically admired by a few eminent men. Richardson, when only five numbers had appeared, pronounced it equal, if not superior to the Spectator. Young and Hartley expressed their approbation not less warmly. Bubb Dodington, among whose many faults indifference to the claims of genius and learning cannot be reckoned, solicited the acquaintance of the writer. In consequence probably of the good offices of Dodington, who was then the confidential adviser of Prince Frederick, two of his Royal Highness's gentlemen carried a gracious message to the printing-office, and ordered seven copies for Leicester House. But these overtures seem to have been very coldly received. Johnson had had enough of the patronage of the great to last him all his life, and was not disposed to haunt any other door as he had haunted the door of Chesterfield.

By the public the Rambler was at first very coldly received. Though the price of a number was only twopence, the sale did not amount to five hundred. The profits were therefore very small. But as soon as the flying leaves were collected and reprinted they became popular. The author lived to see thirteen thousand copies spread over England alone. Separate editions were published for the Scotch and Irish markets. A large party pronounced the style perfect, so absolutely perfect that in some essays it would be impossible for the writer himself to alter a single word for the better. Another party, not less numerous, vehemently accused him of having corrupted the purity of the English tongue. The best critics admitted that his diction was too monotonous, too obviously artificial, and now and then turgid even to absurdity. But they did justice to the acuteness of his observations on morals and manners, to the constant precision and frequent brilliancy of his language, to the weighty and magnificent eloquence of many serious passages, and to the solemn yet pleasing humour of some of the lighter papers. On the question of precedence between Addison and Johnson, a question which, seventy years ago, was much disputed, posterity has pronounced a decision from which there is no appeal. Sir Roger, his chaplain and his butler, Will Wimble and Will Honeycomb, the Vision of Mirza, the Journal of the Retired Citizen, the Everlasting Club, the Dunmow Flitch, the Loves of Hilpah and Shalum, the Visit to the Exchange, and the Visit to the Abbey, are known to everybody. But many men and women, even of highly cultivated minds, are unacquainted with Squire Bluster and Mrs. Busy, Quisquilius and Venustulus, the Allegory of Wit and Learning, the Chronicle of the Revolutions of a Garret, and the sad fate of Aningait and Ajut.

The last Rambler was written in a sad and gloomy hour. Mrs. Johnson had been given over by the physicians. Three days later she died. She left her husband almost brokenhearted. Many people had been surprised to see a man of his genius and learning stooping to every drudgery, and denying himself almost every comfort, for the purpose of supplying a silly, affected old woman with superfluities, which she accepted with but little gratitude. But all his affection had been concentrated on her. He had neither brother nor sister, neither son nor daughter. To him she was beautiful as the Gunnings, and witty as Lady Mary. Her opinion of his writings was more important to him than the voice of the pit of Drury Lane Theatre, or the judgment of the Monthly Review. The chief support which had sustained him through the most arduous labour of his life was the hope that she would enjoy the fame and the profit which he anticipated from his Dictionary. She was gone ; and in that vast labyrinth of streets, peopled by eight hundred thousand human beings, he was alone. Yet it was necessary for him to set himself, as he expressed it, doggedly to work. After three more laborious years, the Dictionary was at length complete.

It had been generally supposed that this great work would be dedicated to the eloquent and accomplished nobleman to whom the Prospectus had been addressed. He well knew the value of such a compliment ; and therefore, when the day of publication drew near, he exerted himself to soothe, by a show of zealous and at the same time of delicate and judicious kindness, the pride which he had so cruelly wounded. Since the Ramblers had ceased to appear, the town had been entertained by a journal called The World, to which many men of high rank and fashion contributed. In two successive numbers of the World, the Dictionary was, to use the modern phrase, puffed with wonderful skill. The writings of Johnson were warmly praised. It was proposed that he should be invested with the authority of a Dictator, nay, of a Pope, over our language and that his decisions about the meaning and the spelling of words should be received as final. His two folios, it was said, would of course be bought by everybody who could afford to buy them. It was soon known that these papers were written by Chesterfield. But the just resentment of Johnson was not to be so appeased. In a letter written with singular energy and dignity of thought and language, he repelled the tardy advances of his patron. The Dictionary came forth without a dedication. In the preface the author truly declared that he owed nothing to the great, and described the difficulties with which he had been left to struggle so forcibly and pathetically that the ablest and most malevolent of all the enemies of his fame, Horne Tooke, never could read that passage without tears.

The public, on this occasion, did Johnson full justice, and something more than justice. The best lexicographer may well be content if his productions are received by the world with cold esteem. But Johnson's Dictionary was hailed with an enthusiasm such as no similar work has ever excited. It was indeed the first dictionary which could be read with pleasure. The definitions show so much acuteness of thought and command of language, and the passages quoted from poets, divines, and philosophers, are so skilfully selected, that a leisure hour may always be very agreeably spent in turning over the pages. The faults of the book resolve themselves, for the most part, into one great fault. Johnson was a wretched etymologist. He knew little or nothing of any Teutonic language except English, which indeed, as he wrote it, was scarcely a Teutonic language; and thus he was absolutely at the mercy of Junius and Skinner.

The Dictionary, though it raised Johnson's fame, added nothing to his pecuniary means. The fifteen hundred guineas which the booksellers had agreed to pay him had been advanced and spent before the last sheets issued from the press. It is painful to relate that, twice in the course of the year which followed the publication of this great work, he was arrested and carried to spunging-houses, and that he was twice indebted for his liberty to his excellent friend Richardson. It was still necessary for the man who had been formally saluted by the highest authority as Dictator of the English language to supply his wants by constant toil. He abridged his Dictionary. He proposed to bring out an edition of Shakspeare by subscription; and many subscribers sent in their names, and laid down their money; but he soon found the task so little to his taste that he turned to more attractive employments. He contributed many papers to a new monthly journal, which was called the Literary Magazine. Few of these papers have much interest; but among them was the very best thing that he ever wrote, a masterpiece both of reasoning and of satirical pleasantry, the review of Jenyns's Inquiry into the Nature and Origin of Evil.

In the spring of 1758 Johnson put forth the first of a series of essays, entitled the Idler. During two years these essays continued to appear weekly. They were eagerly read, widely circulated, and, indeed, impudently pirated while they were still in the original form, and had a large sale when collected into volumes. The Idler may be described as a second part of the Rambler, somewhat livelier and somewhat weaker than the first part.

While Johnson was busied with his Idlers, his mother, who had accomplished her ninetieth year, died at Lichfield. It was long since he had seen her; but he had not failed to contribute largely, out of his small means, to her comfort. In order to defray the charges of her funeral, and to pay some debts which she had left, he wrote a little book in a single week, and sent off the sheets to the press without reading them over. A hundred pounds were paid him for the copyright; and the purchasers had great cause to be pleased with their bargain; for the book was Rasselas.

The success of Rasselas was great, though such ladies as Miss Lydia Languish must have been grievously disappointed when they found that the new volume from the circulating library was little more than a dissertation on the author's favourite theme, the Vanity of Human Wishes; that the Prince of Abyssinia was without a mistress, and the Princess without a lover; and that the story set the hero and the heroine down exactly where it had taken them up. The style was the subject of much eager controversy. The Monthly Review and the Critical Review took different sides. Many readers pronounced the writer a pompous pedant, who would never use a word of two syllables where it was possible to use a word of six, and who could not make a waiting woman relate her adventures without balancing every noun with another noun, and every epithet with another epithet. Another party, not less zealous, cited with delight numerous passages in which weighty meaning was expressed with accuracy and illustrated with splendour. And both the censure and the praise were merited.

About the plan of Rasselas little was said by the critics; and yet the faults of the plan might seem to invite severe criticism. Johnson has frequently blamed Shakspeare for neglecting the proprieties of time and place, and for ascribing to one age or nation the manners and opinions of another. Yet Shakspeare has not sinned in this way more grievously than Johnson. Rasselas and Imlac, Nekayah and Pekuah, are evidently meant to be Abyssinians of the eighteenth century : for the Europe which Imlac describes is the Europe of the eighteenth century : and the inmates of the Happy Valley talk familiarly of that law of gravitation which Newton discovered, and which was not fully received even at Cambridge till the eighteenth century. What a real company of Abyssinians would have been may be learned from Bruce's Travels. But Johnson, not content with turning filthy savages ignorant of their letters, and gorged with raw steaks cut from living cows, into philosophers as eloquent and enlightened as himself or his friend Burke, and into ladies as highly accomplished as Mrs. Lennox or Mrs. Sheridan, transferred the whole domestic system of England to Egypt. Into a land of harems, a land of polygamy, a land where women are married without ever being seen, he introduced the flirtations and jealousies of our ball-rooms. In a land where there is boundless liberty of divorce, wedlock is described as the indissoluble compact. "A youth and maiden meeting by chance, or brought together by artifice, exchange glances, reciprocate civilities, go home and dream of each other. Such," says Rasselas, "is the common process of marriage." Such it may have been, and may still be, in London, but assuredly not at Cairo. A writer who was guilty of such improprieties had little right to blame the poet who made Hector quote Aristotle, and represented Julio Romano as flourishing in the days of the oracle of Delphi.

By such exertions as have been described, Johnson supported himself till the year 1762. In that year a great change in his circumstances took place. He had from a child been an enemy of the reigning dynasty. His Jacobite prejudices had been exhibited with little disguise both in his works and in his conversation. Even in his massy and elaborate Dictionary, he had, with a strange want of taste and judgment, inserted bitter and contumelious reflections on the Whig party. The excise, which was a favourite resource of Whig financiers, he had designated as a hateful tax. He had railed against the commissioners of excise in language so coarse that they had seriously thought of prosecuting him. He had with difficulty been prevented from holding up the Lord Privy Seal by name as an example of the meaning of the word "renegade." A pension he had defined as pay given to a state hireling to betray his country; a pensioner as a slave of state hired by a stipend to obey a master. It seemed unlikely that the author of these definitions would himself be pensioned. But that was a time of wonders. George the Third had ascended the throne; and had, in the course of a few months, disgusted many of the old friends, and conciliated many of the old enemies of his house. The city was becoming mutinous. Oxford was becoming loyal. Cavendishes and Bentincks were murmuring. Somersets and Wyndhams were hastening to kiss hands. The head of the treasury was now Lord Bute, who was a Tory, and could have no objection to Johnson's Toryism. Bute wished to be thought a patron of men of letters; and Johnson was one of the most eminent and one of the most needy men of letters in Europe. A pension of three hundred a year was graciously offered, and with very little hesitation accepted.

This event produced a change in Johnson's whole way of life. For the first time since his boyhood he no longer felt the daily goad urging him to the daily toil. He was at liberty, after thirty years of anxiety and drudgery, to indulge his constitutional indolence, to lie in bed till two in the afternoon, and to sit up talking till four in the morning, without fearing either the printer's devil or the sheriff's officer.

One laborious task indeed he had bound himself to perform. He had received large subscriptions for his promised edition of Shakspeare ; he had lived on those subscriptions during some years ; and he could not without disgrace omit to perform his part of the contract. His friends repeatedly exhorted him to make an effort ; and he repeatedly resolved to do so. But, notwithstanding their exhortations and his resolutions, month followed month, year followed year, and nothing was done. He prayed fervently against his idleness ; he determined, as often as he received the sacrament, that he would no longer doze away and trifle away his time ; but the spell under which he lay resisted prayer and sacrament. His private notes at this time are made up of self-reproaches. "My indolence," he wrote on Easter eve in 1764, "has sunk into grosser sluggishness. A kind of strange oblivion has overspread me, so that I know not what has become of the last year." Easter 1765 came, and found him still in the same state. "My time," he wrote, "has been unprofitably spent, and seems as a dream that has left nothing behind. My memory grows confused, and I know not how the days pass over me." Happily for his honour, the charm which held him captive was at length broken by no gentle or friendly hand. He had been weak enough to pay serious attention to a story about a ghost which haunted a house in Cock Lane, and had actually gone himself, with some of his friends, at one in the morning, to St. John's Church, Clerkenwell, in the hope of receiving a communication from the perturbed spirit. But the spirit, though adjured with all solemnity, remained obstinately silent; and it soon appeared that a naughty girl of eleven had been amusing herself by making fools of so many philosophers. Churchill, who, confident in his powers, drunk with popularity, and burning with party spirit, was looking for some man of established fame and Tory politics to insult, celebrated the Cock Lane Ghost in three cantos, nicknamed Johnson Pomposo, asked where the book was which had been so long promised and so liberally paid for, and directly accused the great moralist of cheating. This terrible word proved effectual; and in October 1765 appeared, after a delay of nine years, the new edition of Shakspeare.

This publication saved Johnson's character for honesty, but added nothing to the fame of his abilities and learning. The preface, though it contains some good passages, is not in his best manner. The most valuable notes are those in which he had an opportunity of showing how attentively he had during many years observed human life and human nature. The best specimen is the note on the character of Polonius. Nothing so good is to be found even in Wilhelm Meister's admirable examination of Hamlet. But here praise must end. It would be difficult to name a more slovenly, a more worthless edition of any great classic. The reader may turn over play after play without finding one happy conjectural emendation, or one ingenious and satisfactory explanation of a passage which had baffled preceding commentators. Johnson had, in his Prospectus, told the world that he was peculiarly fitted for the task which he had undertaken, because eh had, as a lexicographer, been under the necessity of taking a wider view of the English language than any of his predecessors. That his knowledge of our literature was extensive, is indisputable. But, unfortunately, he had altogether neglected that very part of our literature with which it is especially desirable that an editor of Shakspeare should be conversant. It is dangerous to assert a negative. Yet little will be risked by the assertion, that in the two folio volumes of the English Dictionary there is not a single passage quoted from any dramatist of the Elizabethan age, except Shakspeare and Ben. Even from Ben the quotations are few. Johnson might easily, in a few months, have made himself well acquainted with every old play that was extant. But it never seems to have occurred to him that this was a necessary preparation for the work which he had undertaken. He would doubtless have admitted that it would be the height of absurdity in a man who was not familiar with the works of Æschylus and Euripides to publish an edition of Sophocles. Yet he ventured to publish an edition of Shakspeare, without having ever in his life, as far as can be discovered, read a single scene of Massinger, Ford, Decker, Webster, Marlow, Beaumont, or Fletcher. His detractors were noisy and scurrilous. Those who most loved and honoured him had little to say in praise of the manner in which he had discharged the duty of a commentator. He had, however, acquitted himself of a debt which had long lain heavy on his conscience, and he sank back into the repose from which the sting of satire had roused him. He long continued to live upon the fame which he had already won. He was honoured by the University of Oxford with a Doctor's degree, by the Royal Academy with a professorship, and by the King with an interview, in which his Majesty most graciously expressed a hope that so excellent a writer would not cease to write. In the interval, however, between 1765 and 1775, Johnson published only two or three political tracts, the longest of which he could have produced in forty-eight hours, if he had worked as he worked on the life of Savage and on Rasselas.

But though his pen was now idle his tongue was active. The influence exercised by his conversation, directly upon those with whom he lived, and indirectly on the whole literary world, was altogether without a parallel. His colloquial talents were indeed of the highest order. He had strong sense, quick discernment, wit, humour, immense knowledge of literature and of life, and an infinite store of curious anecdotes. As respected style, he spoke far better than he wrote. Every sentence which dropped from his lips was as correct in structure as the most nicely balanced period of the Rambler. But in his talk there were no pompous triads, and little more than a fair proportion of words in *osity* and *ation*. All was simplicity, ease, and vigour, He uttered his short, weighty, and pointed sentences with a power of voice, and a justness and energy of emphasis, of which the effect was rather increased than diminished by the rollings of his huge form, and by the asthmatic gaspings and puffings in which the peals of his eloquence generally ended. Nor did the laziness which made him unwilling to sit down to his desk prevent him from giving instruction or entertainment orally. To discuss questions of taste, of learning, of casuistry, in language so exact and so forcible that it might have been printed without the alteration of a word, was to him no exertion, but a pleasure. He loved, as he said, to fold his legs and have his talk out. He was ready to bestow the overflowings of his full mind on anybody who would start a subject, on a fellow-passenger in a stage coach, or on the person who sate at the same table with him in an eating-house. But his conversation was nowhere so brilliant and striking as when he was surrounded by a few friends, whose abilities and knowledge enabled them, as he once expressed it, to send him back every ball that he threw. Some of these, in 1764, formed themselves into a club, which gradually became a formidable power in the commonwealth of letters. The verdicts pronounced by this conclave on new books were speedily known over all London, and were sufficient to sell off a whole edition in a day, or to condemn the sheets to the service of the trunk-maker and the pastry-cook. Nor shall we think this strange when we consider what great and various talents and acquirements met in the little fraternity. Goldsmith was the representative of poetry and light literature, Reynolds of the arts, Burke of political eloquence and political philosophy. There, too, were Gibbon, the greatest historian, and Jones the greatest linguist, of the age. Garrick brought to the meetings his inexhaustible pleasantry, his incomparable mimicry, and his consummate knowledge of stage effect. Among the most constant attendants were two high-born and high-bred gentlemen, closely bound together by friendship, but of widely different characters and habits; Bennet Langton, distinguished by his skill in Greek literature, by the orthodoxy of his opinions, and by the sanctity of his life; and Topham Beauclerk, renowned for his amours, his knowledge of the gay world, his fastidious taste, and his sarcastic wit. To predominate over such a society was not easy. Yet even over such a society Johnson predominated. Burke might indeed have disputed the supremacy to which others were under the necessity of submitting. But Burke, though not generally a very patient listener, was content to take the second part when Johnson was present; and the club itself, consisting of so many eminent men, is to this day popularly designated as Johnson's Club.

Among the members of this celebrated body was one to whom it has owed the greater part of its celebrity, yet who was regarded with little respect by his brethren, and had not without difficulty obtained a seat among them. This was James Boswell, a young Scotch lawyer, heir to an honourable name and a fair estate. That he was a coxcomb and a bore, weak, vain, pushing, curious, garrulous, was obvious to all who were acquainted with him. That he could not reason, that he had no wit, no humour, no eloquence, is apparent from his writings. And yet his writings are read beyond the Mississippi, and under the Southern Cross, and are likely to be read as long as the English exists, either as a living or as a dead language. Nature had made him a slave and an idolater. His mind resembled those creepers which the botanists call parasites, and which can subsist only by clinging round the stems and imbibing the juices of stronger plants. He must have fastened himself on somebody. He might have fastened himself on Wilkes, and have become the fiercest patriot in the Bill of Rights Society. He might have fastened himself on Whitfield, and have become the loudest field preacher among the Calvinistic Methodists. In a happy hour he fastened himself on Johnson. The pair might seem ill matched. For Johnson had early been prejudiced against Boswell's country. To a man of Johnson's strong understanding and irritable temper, the silly egotism and adulation of Boswell must have been as teasing as the constant buzz of a fly. Johnson hated to be questioned; and Boswell was eternally catechizing him on all kinds of subjects, and sometimes propounded such questions as, "What would you do, sir, if you were locked up in a tower with a baby?" Johnson was a water drinker and Boswell was a winebibber, and indeed little better than a habitual sot. It was impossible that there should be perfect harmony between two such companions. Indeed, the great man was sometimes provoked into fits of passion, in which he said things which the small man, during a few hours, seriously resented. Every quarrel, however, was soon made up. During twenty years the disciple continued to worship the master: the master continued to scold the disciple, to sneer at him, and to love him. The two friends ordinarily resided at a great distance from each other. Boswell practised in the Parliament House of Edinburgh, and could pay only occasional visits to London. During those visits his chief business was to watch Johnson, to discover all Johnson's habits, to turn the conversation to subjects about which Johnson was likely to say something remarkable, and to fill quarto note-books with minutes of what Johnson had said. In this way were gathered the materials, out of which was afterwards constructed the most interesting biographical work in the world.

Soon after the club began to exist, Johnson formed a connection less important indeed to his fame, but much more important to his happiness, than his connection with Boswell. Henry Thrale, one of the most opulent brewers in the kingdom, a man of sound and cultivated understanding, rigid principles, and liberal spirit, was married to one of those clever, kind-hearted, engaging, vain, pert, young women, who are perpetually doing or saying what is not exactly right, but who, do or say what they may, are always agreeable. In 1765 the Thrales became acquainted with Johnson, and the acquaintance ripened fast into friendship. They were astonished and delighted by the brilliancy of his conversation. They were flattered by finding that a man so widely celebrated preferred their house to any other in London. Even the peculiarities which seemed to unfit him for civilized society, his gesticulations, his rollings, his puffings, his mutterings, the strange way in which he put on his clothes, the ravenous eagerness with which he devoured his dinner, his fits of melancholy, his fits of anger, his frequent rudeness, his occasional ferocity, increased the interest which his new associates took in him. For these things were the cruel marks left behind by a life which had been one long conflict with disease and with adversity. In a vulgar hack writer, such oddities would have excited only disgust. But in a man of genius, learning, and virtue, their effect was to add pity to admiration and esteem. Johnson soon had an apartment at the brewery in Southwark, and a still more pleasant apartment at the villa of his friends on Streatham Common. A large part of every year he passed in those abodes — abodes which must have seemed magnificent and luxurious indeed, when compared with the dens in which he had generally been lodged. But his chief pleasures were derived from what the astronomer of his Abyssinian tale called "the endearing elegance of female friendship." Mrs. Thrale rallied him, soothed him, coaxed him, and, if she sometimes provoked him by her flippancy, made ample amends by listening to his reproofs with angelic sweetness of temper. When he was diseased in body and in mind, she was the most tender of nurses. No comfort that wealth could purchase, no contrivance that womanly ingenuity, set to work by womanly compassion, could devise was wanting to his sick room. He requited her kindness by an affection pure as the affection of a father, yet delicately tinged with a gallantry, which, though awkward, must have been more flattering than the attentions of a crowd of the fools who gloried in the names, now obsolete, of Buck and Maccaroni. It should seem that a full half of Johnson's life, during about sixteen years, was passed under the roof of the Thrales. He accompanied the family sometimes to Bath, and sometimes to Brighton, once to Wales and once to Paris. But he had at the same time a house in one of the narrow and gloomy courts on the north of Fleet Street. In the garrets was his library, a large and miscellaneous collection of books, falling to pieces and begrimed with dust. On a lower floor he sometimes, but very rarely, regaled a friend with a plain dinner, a veal pie, or a leg of lamb and spinage, and a rice pudding. Nor was the dwelling uninhabited during his long absences. It was the home of the most extraordinary assemblage of inmates that ever was brought together. At the head of the establishment Johnson had placed an old lady named Williams, whose chief recommendations were her blindness and her poverty. But, in spite of her murmurs and reproaches, he gave an asylum to another lady who was as poor as herself, Mrs. Desmoulins, whose family he had known many years before in Staffordshire. Room was found for the daughter of Mrs. Desmoulins, and for another destitute damsel, who was generally addresed as Miss Carmichael, but whom her generous host called Polly. An old quack doctor named Levett, who bled and dosed coal-heavers and hackney coachmen, and received for fees crusts of bread, bits of bacon, glasses of gin, and sometimes a little copper, completed this strange menagerie. All these poor creatures were at constant war with each other, and with Johnson's negro servant Frank. Sometimes, indeed, they transferred their hostilities from the servant to the master, complained that a better table was not kept for them, and railed or maundered till their benefactor was glad to make his escape to Streatham, or to the Mitre Tavern. And yet he, who was generally the haughtiest and most irritable of mankind, who was but too prompt to resent anything which looked like a slight on the part of a purse-proud bookseller, or of a noble and powerful patron, bore patiently from mendicants, who, but for his bounty, must have gone to the workhouse, insults more provoking than those for which he had knocked down Osborne and bidden defiance to Chesterfield. Year after year Mrs. Williams and Mrs. Desmoulins, Polly and Levett, continued to torment him and to live upon him.

The course of life which has been described was interrupted in Johnson's sixty-fourth year by an important event. He had early read an account of the Hebrides, and had been much interested by learning that there was so near him a land peopled by a race which was still as rude and simple as in the middle ages. A wish to become intimately acquainted with a state of society so utterly unlike all that he had ever seen frequently crossed his mind. But it is not probable that his curiosity would have overcome his habitual sluggishness, and his love of the smoke, the mud, and the cries of London, had not Boswell importuned him to attempt the adventure, and offered to be his squire. At length, in August 1773, Johnson crossed the Highland line, and plunged courageously into what was then considered, by most Englishmen, as a dreary and perilous wilderness. After wandering about two months through the Celtic region, sometimes in rude boats which did not protect him from the rain, and sometimes on small shaggy ponies which could hardly bear his weight, he returned to his old haunts with a mind full of new images and new theories. During the following year he employed himself in recording his adventures. About the beginning of 1775, his Journey to the Hebrides was published, and was, during some weeks, the chief subject of conversation in all circles in which any attention was paid to literature. The book is still read with pleasure. The narrative is entertaining; the speculations, whether sound or unsound, are always ingenious; and the style, though too stiff and pompous, is somewhat easier and more graceful than that of his early writings. His prejudice against the Scotch had at length become little more than matter of jest; and whatever remained of the old feeling had been effectually removed by the kind and respectful hospitality with which he had been received in every part of Scotland. It was, of course, not to be expected that an Oxonian Tory should praise the Presbyterian polity and ritual, or that an eye accustomed to the hedgerows and parks of England should not be struck by the bareness of Berwickshire and East Lothian. But even in censure Johnson's tone is not unfriendly. The most enlightened Scotchmen, with Lord Mansfield at their head, were well pleased. But some foolish and ignorant Scotchmen were moved to anger by a little unpalatable truth which was mingled with much eulogy, and assailed him whom they chose to consider as the enemy of their country with libels much more dishonourable to their country than anything that he had ever said or written. They published paragraphs in the newspapers, articles in the magazines, sixpenny pamphlets, five shilling books. One scribbler abused Johnson for being blear-eyed; another for being a pensioner; a third informed the world that one of the Doctor's uncles had been convicted of felony in Scotland, and had found that there was in that country one tree capable of supporting the weight of an Englishman. Macpherson, whose Fingal had been proved in the Journey to be an impudent forgery, threatened to take vengeance with a cane. The only effect of this threat was that Johnson reiterated the charge of forgery in the most contemptuous terms, and walked about, during some time, with a cudgel, which, if the impostor had not been too wise to encounter it, would assuredly have descended upon him, to borrow the sublime language of his own epic poem, " like a hammer on the red son of the furnace."

Of other assailants Johnson took no notice whatever. He had early resolved never to be drawn into controversy; and he adhered to his resolution with a steadfastness which is the more extraordinary, because he was, both intellectually and morally, of the stuff of which controversialists are made. In conversation, he was a singularly eager, acute, and pertinacious disputant. When at a loss for good reasons, he had recourse to sophistry; and when heated by altercation, he made unsparing use of sarcasm and invective. But when he took his pen in his hand, his whole character seemed to be changed. A hundred bad writers misrepresented him and reviled him; but not one of the hundred could boast of having been thought by him worthy of a refutation, or even a retort. The Kenricks, Campbells, MacNicols, and Hendersons, did their best to annoy him, in the hope that he would give them importance by answering them. But the reader will in vain search his works for any allusion to Kenrick or Campbell, to MacNicol or Henderson. One Scotchman, bent on vindicating the fame of Scotch learning, defied him to the combat in a detestable Latin hexameter.

> " Maxime, si tu vis, cupio contendere tecum."

But Johnson took no notice of the challenge. He had learned, both from his own observation and from literary history, in which he was deeply read, that the place of books in the public estimation is fixed, not by what is written about them, but by what is written in them; and that an author whose works are likely to live is very unwise if he stoops to wrangle with detractors whose works are certain to die. He always maintained that fame was a shuttlecock which could be kept up only by being beaten back, as well as beaten forward, and which would soon fall if there were only one battledore. No saying was oftener in his mouth than that fine apophthegm of Bentley, that no man was ever written down but by himself.

Unhappily, a few months after the appearance of the Journey to the Hebrides, Johnson did what none of his envious assailants could have done, and to a certain extent succeeded in writing himself down. The disputes between England and her American colonies had reached a point at which no amicable adjustment was possible. Civil war was evidently impending ; and the ministers seem to have thought that the eloquence of Johnson might with advantage be employed to inflame the nation against the opposition here, and against the rebels beyond the Atlantic. He had already written two or three tracts in defence of the foreign and domestic policy of the government ; and those tracts, though hardly worthy of him, were much superior to the crowd of pamphlets which lay on the counters of Almon and Stockdale. But his Taxation No Tyranny was a pitiable failure. The very title was a silly phrase, which can have been recommended to his choice by nothing but a jingling alliteration which he ought to have despised. The arguments were such as boys use in debating societies. The pleasantry was as awkward as the gambols of a hippopotamus. Even Boswell was forced to own that, in this unfortunate piece, he could detect no trace of his master's powers. The general opinion was that the strong faculties which had produced the Dictionary and the Rambler were beginning to feel the effect of time and of disease, and that the old man would best consult his credit by writing no more.

But this was a great mistake. Johnson had failed, not because his mind was less vigorous than when he wrote Rasselas in the evenings of a week, but because he had foolishly chosen, or suffered others to choose for him, a subject such as he would at no time have been competent to treat. He was in no sense a statesman. He never willingly read or thought or talked about affairs of state. He loved biography, literary history, the history of manners; but political history was positively distasteful to him. The question at issue between the colonies and the mother country was a question about which he had really nothing to say. He failed, therefore, as the greatest men must fail when they attempt to do that for which they are unfit; as Burke would have failed if Burke had tried to write comedies like those of Sheridan; as Reynolds would have failed if Reynolds had tried to paint landscapes like those of Wilson. Happily, Johnson soon had an opportunity of proving most signally that his failure was not to be ascribed to intellectual decay.

On Easter eve 1777, some persons, deputed by a meeting which consisted of forty of the first booksellers in London, called upon him. Though he had some scruples about doing business at that season, he received his visitors with much civility. They came to inform him that a new edition of the English poets, from Cowley downwards, was in contemplation, and to ask him to furnish short biographical prefaces. He readily undertook the task, a task for which he was pre-eminently qualified. His knowledge of the literary history of England since the Restoration was unrivalled. That knowledge he had derived partly from books, and partly from sources which had long been closed; from old Grub Street traditions; from the talk of forgotten poetasters and pamphleteers who had long been lying in parish vaults; from the recollections of such men as Gilbert Walmesley, who had conversed with the wits of Button; Cibber, who had mutilated the plays of two generations of dramatists; Orrery, who had been admitted to the society of Swift; and Savage, who had rendered services of no very honourable kind to Pope. The biographer therefore sate down to his task with a mind full of matter. He had at first intended to give only a paragraph to every minor poet, and only four or five pages to the greatest name. But the flood of anecdote and criticism overflowed the narrow channel. The work, which was originally meant to consist only of a few sheets, swelled into ten volumes, small volumes, it is true, and not closely printed. The first four appeared in 1779, the remaining six in 1791.

The Lives of the Poets are, on the whole, the best of Johnson's works. The narratives are as entertaining as any novel. The remarks on life and on human nature are eminently shrewd and profound. The criticisms are often excellent, and, even when grossly and provokingly unjust, well deserve to be studied. For, however erroneous they may be, they are never silly. They are the judgments of a mind trammelled by prejudice and deficient in sensibility, but vigorous and acute. They, therefore, generally contain a portion of valuable truth which deserves to be separated from the alloy; and, at the very worst, they mean something, a praise to which much of what is called criticism in our time has no pretensions.

Savage's Life Johnson reprinted nearly as it had appeared in 1744. Whoever, after reading that life, will turn to the other lives will be struck by the difference of style. Since Johnson had been at ease in his circumstances he had written little and had talked much. When, therefore, he, after the lapse of years, resumed his pen, the mannerism which he had contracted while he was in the constant habit of elaborate composition was less perceptible than formerly; and his diction frequently had a colloquial ease which it had formerly wanted. The improvement may be discerned by a skilful critic in the Journey to the Hebrides, and in the Lives of the Poets is so obvious that it cannot escape the notice of the most careless reader.

Among the Lives the best are perhaps those of Cowley, Dryden, and Pope. The very worst is, beyond all doubt, that of Gray.

This great work at once became popular. There was, indeed, much just and much unjust censure; but even those who were loudest in blame were attracted by the book in spite of themselves. Malone computed the gains of the publishers at five or six thousand pounds. But the writer was very poorly remunerated. Intending at first to write very short prefaces, he had stipulated for only two hundred guineas. The booksellers, when they saw how far his performance had surpassed his promise, added only another hundred. Indeed, Johnson, though he did not despise, or affect to despise money, and though his strong sense and long experience ought to have qualified him to protect his own interests, seems to have been singularly unskilful and unlucky in his literary bargains. He was generally reputed the first English writer of his time. Yet several writers of his time sold their copyrights for sums such as he never ventured to ask. To give a single instance, Robertson received four thousand five hundred pounds for the History of Charles V.; and it is no disrespect to the memory of Robertson to say that the History of Charles V. is both a less valuable and a less amusing book than the Lives of the Poets.

Johnson was now in his seventy-second year. The infirmities of age were coming fast upon him. That inevitable event of which he never thought without horror was brought near to him; and his whole life was darkened by the shadow of death. He had often to pay the cruel price of longevity. Every year he lost what could never be replaced. The strange dependants to whom he had given shelter, and to whom, in spite of their faults, he was strongly attached by habit, dropped off one by one; and, in the silence of his home, he regretted even the noise of their scolding matches. The kind and generous Thrale was no more; and it would have been well if his wife had been laid beside him. But she survived to be the laughing-stock of those who had envied her, and to draw from the eyes of the old man who had loved her beyond anything in the world, tears far more bitter than he would have shed over her grave. With some estimable, and many agreeable qualities, she was not made to be independent. The control of a mind more steadfast than her own was necessary to her respectability. While she was restrained by her husband, a man of sense and firmness, indulgent to her taste in trifles, but always the undisputed master of his house, her worst offences had been impertinent jokes, white lies, and short fits of pettishness ending in sunny good humour. But he was gone; and she was left an opulent widow of forty, with strong sensibility, volatile fancy, and slender judgment. She soon fell in love with a music-master from Brescia, in whom nobody but herself could discover anything to admire. Her pride, and perhaps some better feelings, struggled hard against this degrading passion. But the struggle irritated her nerves, soured her temper, and at length endangered her health. Conscious that her choice was one which Johnson could not approve, she became desirous to escape from his inspection. Her manner towards him changed. She was sometimes cold and sometimes petulant. She did not conceal her joy when he left Streatham; she never pressed him to return; and, if he came unbidden, she received him in a manner which convinced him that he was no longer a welcome guest. He took the very intelligible hints which she gave. He read, for the last time, a chapter of the Greek Testament in the library which had been formed by himself. In a solemn and tender prayer he commended the house and its inmates to the Divine protection, and, with emotions which choked his voice and convulsed his powerful frame, left for ever that beloved home for the gloomy and desolate house behind Fleet Street, where the few and evil days which still remained to him were to run out. Here, in June 1783, he had a paralytic stroke, from which, however, he recovered, and which does not appear to have at all impaired his intellectual faculties. But other maladies came thick upon him. His asthma tormented him day and night. Dropsical symptoms made their appearance. While sinking under a complication of diseases, he heard that the woman whose friendship had been the chief happiness of sixteen years of his life, had married an Italian fiddler; that all London was crying shame upon her; and that the newspapers and magazines were filled with allusions to the Ephesian matron and the two pictures in Hamlet. He vehemently said that he would try to forget her existence. He never uttered her name. Every memorial of her which met his eye he flung into the fire. She meanwhile fled from the laughter and hisses of her countrymen and country-women to a land where she was unknown, hastened across Mount Cenis, and learned, while passing a merry Christmas of concerts and lemonade parties at Milan, that the great man with whose name hers is inseparably associated, had ceased to exist.

He had, in spite of much mental and much bodily affliction, clung vehemently to life. The feeling described in that fine but gloomy paper which closes the series of his Idlers seemed to grow stronger in him as his last hour drew near. He fancied that he should be able to draw his breath more easily in a southern climate, and would probably have set out for Rome and Naples but for his fear of the expense of the journey. That expense, indeed, he had the means of defraying; for he had laid up about two thousand pounds, the fruit of labours which had made the fortune of several publishers. But he was unwilling to break in upon this hoard, and he seems to have wished even to keep its existence a secret. Some of his friends hoped that the government might be induced to increase his pension to six hundred pounds a year, but this hope was disappointed, and he resolved to stand one English winter more. That winter was his last. His legs grew weaker; his breath grew shorter; the fatal water gathered fast, in spite of incisions which he, courageous against pain, but timid against death, urged his surgeons to make deeper and deeper. Though the tender care which had mitigated his sufferings during months of sickness at Streatham was withdrawn, he was not left desolate. The ablest physicians and surgeons attended him, and refused to accept fees from him. Burke parted from him with deep emotion. Windham sate much in the sick room, arranged the pillows, and sent his own servant to watch at night by the bed. Frances Burney, whom the old man had cherished with fatherly kindness, stood weeping at the door; while Langton, whose piety eminently qualified him to be an adviser and comforter at such a time, received the last pressure of his friend's hand within. When at length the moment, dreaded through so many years, came close, the dark cloud passed away from Johnson's mind. His temper became unusually patient and gentle; he ceased to think with terror of death, and of that which lies beyond death; and he spoke much of the mercy of God, and of the propitiation of Christ. In this serene frame of mind he died on the 13th of December 1784. He was laid, a week later, in Westminster Abbey, among the eminent men of whom he had been the historian,— Cowley and Denham, Dryden and Congreve, Gay, Prior, and Addison.

Since his death the popularity of his works—the Lives of the Poets, and, perhaps, the Vanity of Human Wishes, excepted — has greatly diminished. His Dictionary has been altered by editors till it can scarcely be called his. An allusion to his Rambler or his Idler is not readily apprehended in literary circles. The fame even of Rasselas has grown somewhat dim. But though the celebrity of the writings may have declined, the celebrity of the writer, strange to say, is as great as ever. Boswell's book has done for him more than the best of his own books could do. The memory of other authors is kept alive by their works. But the memory of Johnson keeps many of his works alive. The old philosopher is still among us in the brown coat with the metal buttons and the shirt which ought to be at wash, blinking, puffing, rolling his head, drumming with his fingers, tearing his meat like a tiger, and swallowing his tea in oceans. No human being who has been more than seventy years in the grave is so well known to us. And it is but just to say that our intimate acquaintance with what he would himself have called the anfractuosities of his intellect and of his temper, serves only to strengthen our conviction that he was both a great and a good man.

WILLIAM PITT.

WILLIAM PITT, the second son of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, and of Lady Hester Grenville, daughter of Hester, Countess Temple, was born on the 28th of May 1759. The child inherited a name which at the time of his birth, was the most illustrious in the civilised world, and was pronounced by every Englishman with pride, and by every enemy of England with mingled admiration and terror. During the first year of his life, every month had its illuminations and bonfires, and every wind brought some messenger charged with joyful tidings and hostile standards. In Westphalia the English infantry won a great battle which arrested the armies of Louis the Fifteenth in the midst of a career of conquest: Boscawen defeated one French fleet on the coast of Portugal: Hawke put to flight another in the Bay of Biscay: Johnson took Niagara: Amherst took Ticonderoga: Wolfe died by the most enviable of deaths under the walls of Quebec: Clive destroyed a Dutch armament in the Hoogley, and established the English supremacy in Bengal: Coote routed Lally at Wandewash, and established the English supremacy in the Carnatic. The nation, while loudly applauding the successful warriors, considered them all, on sea and on land, in Europe, in America, and in Asia, merely as instruments which received their direction from one superior mind. It was the great William Pitt, the great commoner, who had vanquished French marshals in Germany, and French admirals on the Atlantic; who had conquered for his country one great empire on the frozen shores of Ontario, and another under the tropical sun near the mouths of the Ganges. It was not in the nature of things that popularity such as he at this time enjoyed should be permanent. That popularity had lost its gloss before his children were old enough to understand that their father was a great man. He was at length placed in situations in which neither his talents for administration nor his talents for debate appeared to the best advantage. The energy and decision which had eminently fitted him for the direction of war were not needed in time of peace. The lofty and spirit-stirring eloquence, which had made him supreme in the House of Commons, often fell dead on the House of Lords. A cruel malady racked his joints, and left his joints only to fall on his nerves and on his brain. During the closing years of his life, he was odious to the court, and yet was not on cordial terms with the great body of the opposition. Chatham was only the ruin of Pitt, but an awful and majestic ruin, not to be contemplated by any man of sense and feeling without emotions resembling those which are excited by the remains of the Parthenon and of the Coliseum. In one respect the old statesman was eminently happy. Whatever might be the vicissitudes of his public life, he never failed to find peace and love by his own hearth. He loved all his children, and was loved by them; and, of all his children, the one of whom he was fondest and proudest was his second son.

The child's genius and ambition displayed themselves with a rare and almost unnatural precocity. At seven, the interest which he took in grave subjects, the ardour with which he pursued his studies, and the sense and vivacity of his remarks on books and on events, amazed his parents and instructors. One of his sayings of this date was reported to his mother by his tutor. In August 1766, when the world was agitated by the news that Mr. Pitt had become Earl of Chatham, little William exclaimed, "I am glad that I am not the eldest son. I want to speak in the House of Commons like papa." A letter is extant in which Lady Chatham, a woman of considerable abilities, remarked to her lord, that their younger son at twelve had left far behind him his elder brother, who was fifteen.

"The fineness," she wrote, "of William's mind makes him enjoy with the greatest pleasure what would be above the reach of any other creature of his small age." At fourteen the lad was in intellect a man. Hayley, who met him at Lyme in the summer of 1773, was astonished, delighted, and somewhat overawed, by hearing wit and wisdom from so young a mouth. The poet, indeed, was afterwards sorry that his shyness had prevented him from submitting the plan of an extensive literary work, which he was then meditating, to the judgment of this extraordinary boy. The boy, indeed, had already written a tragedy, bad of course, but not worse than the tragedies of his friend. This piece is still preserved at Chevening, and is in some respects highly curious. There is no love. The whole plot is political; and it is remarkable that the interest, such as it is, turns on a contest about a regency. On one side is a faithful servant of the Crown, on the other an ambitious and unprincipled conspirator. At length the king, who had been missing, re-appears, resumes his power, and rewards the faithful defender of his rights. A reader who should judge only by internal evidence would have no hesitation in pronouncing that the play was written by some Pittite poetaster at the time of the rejoicings for the recovery of George the Third in 1789.

The pleasure with which William's parents observed the rapid development of his intellectual powers was alloyed by apprehensions about his health. He shot up alarmingly fast; he was often ill, and always weak; and it was feared that it would be impossible to rear a stripling so tall, so slender, and so feeble. Port wine was prescribed by his medical advisers; and it is said that he was, at fourteen, accustomed to take this agreeable physic in quantities which would, in our abstemious age, be thought much more than sufficient for any full-grown man. This regimen, though it would probably have killed ninety-nine boys out of a hundred, seems to have been well suited to the peculiarities of William's constitution; for at fifteen he ceased to be molested by disease, and, though never a strong man, continued, during many years of labour and anxiety, of nights passed in debate and of summers passed in London, to be a tolerably healthy one. It was probably on account of the delicacy of his frame that he was not educated like other boys of the same rank. Almost all the eminent English statesmen and orators to whom he was afterwards opposed or allied, North, Fox, Shelburne, Windham, Grey, Wellesley, Grenville, Sheridan, Canning, went through the training of great public schools. Lord Chatham had himself been a distinguished Etonian; and it is seldom that a distinguished Etonian forgets his obligations to Eton. But William's infirmities required a vigilance and tenderness such as could be found only at home. He was therefore bred under the paternal roof. His studies were superintended by a clergyman named Wilson; and those studies, though often interrupted by illness, were prosecuted with extraordinary success. Before the lad had completed his fifteenth year, his knowledge both of the ancient languages and of mathematics was such as very few men of eighteen then carried up to college. He was therefore sent, towards the close of the year 1773, to Pembroke Hall, in the university of Cambridge. So young a student required much more than the ordinary care which a college tutor bestows on undergraduates. The governor, to whom the direction of William's academical life was confided, was a batchelor of arts named Pretyman, who had been senior wrangler in the preceding year, and who, though not a man of prepossessing appearance or brilliant parts, was eminently acute and laborious, a sound scholar, and an excellent geometrician. At Cambridge, Pretyman was, during more than two years, the inseparable companion, and indeed almost the only companion, of his pupil. A close and lasting friendship sprang up between the pair. The disciple was able, before he completed his twenty-eighth year, to make his preceptor bishop of Lincoln and dean of St. Paul's; and the preceptor showed his gratitude by writing a Life of the disciple, which enjoys the distinction of being the worst biographical work of its size in the world.

Pitt, till he graduated, had scarcely one acquaintance, attended chapel regularly morning and evening, dined every day in hall, and never went to a single evening party. At seventeen, he was admitted, after the bad fashion of those times, by right of birth, without any examination, to the degree of Master of Arts. But he continued during some years to reside at college, and to apply himself vigorously, under Pretyman's direction, to the studies of the place, while mixing freely in the best academic society.

The stock of learning which Pitt laid in during this part of his life was certainly very extraordinary. In fact, it was all that he ever possessed; for he very early became too busy to have any spare time for books. The work in which he took the greatest delight was Newton's Principia. His liking for mathematics, indeed, amounted to a passion, which, in the opinion of his instructors, themselves distinguished mathematicians, required to be checked rather than encouraged. The acuteness and readiness with which he solved problems was pronounced by one of the ablest of the moderators, who in those days presided over the disputations in the schools, and conducted the examinations of the Senate-House, to be unrivalled in the university. Nor was the youth's proficiency in classical learning less remarkable. In one respect, indeed, he appeared to disadvantage when compared with even second-rate and third-rate men from public schools. He had never, while under Wilson's care, been in the habit of composing in the ancient languages; and he therefore never acquired that knack of versification which is sometimes possessed by clever boys whose knowledge of the language and literature of Greece and Rome is very superficial. It would have been utterly out of his power to produce such charming elegiac lines as those in which Wellesley bade farewell to Eton, or such Virgilian hexameters as those in which Canning described the pilgrimage to Mecca. But it may be doubted whether any scholar has ever, at twenty, had a more solid and profound knowledge of the two great tongues of the old civilized world. The facility with which he penetrated the meaning of the most intricate sentences in the Attic writers astonished veteran critics. He had set his heart on being intimately acquainted with all the extant poetry of Greece, and was not satisfied till he had mastered Lycophron's Cassandra, the most obscure work in the whole range of ancient literature. This strange rhapsody, the difficulties of which have perplexed and repelled many excellent scholars, " he read," says his preceptor, " with an ease at first sight, which, if I had not witnessed it, I should have thought beyond the compass of human intellect."

To modern literature Pitt paid comparatively little attention. He knew no living language except French ; and French he knew very imperfectly. With a few of the best English writers he was intimate, particularly with Shakespeare and Milton. The debate in Pandemonium was, as it well deserved to be, one of his favourite passages ; and his early friends used to talk, long after his death, of the just emphasis and the melodious cadence with which they had heard him recite the incomparable speech of Belial. He had indeed been carefully trained from infancy in the art of managing his voice, a voice naturally clear and deep-toned. His father, whose oratory owed no small part of its effect to that art, had been a most skilful and judicious instructor. At a later period, the wits of Brookes's, irritated by observing, night after night, how powerfully Pitt's sonorous elocution fascinated the rows of country gentlemen, reproached him with having been " taught by his dad on a stool."

His education, indeed, was well adapted to form a great parliamentary speaker. One argument often urged against those classical studies which occupy so large a part of the early life of every gentleman bred in the south of our island is, that they prevent him from acquiring a command of his mother tongue, and that it is not unusual to meet with a youth of excellent parts, who writes Ciceronian Latin prose and Horatian Latin Alcaics, but who would find it impossible to express his thoughts in pure, perspicuous, and forcible English. There may perhaps be some truth in this observation. But the classical studies of Pitt were carried on in a peculiar manner, and had the effect of enriching his English vocabulary, and of making him wonderfully expert in the art of constructing correct English sentences. His practice was to look over a page or two of a Greek or Latin author, to make himself master of the meaning, and then to read the passage straight forward into his own language. This practice, begun under his first teacher Wilson, was continued under Pretyman. It is not strange that a young man of great abilities, who had been exercised daily in this way during ten years, should have acquired an almost unrivalled power of putting his thoughts, without premeditation, into words well selected and well arranged.

Of all the remains of antiquity, the orations were those on which he bestowed the most minute examination. His favourite employment was to compare harangues on opposite sides of the same question, to analyse them, and to observe which of the arguments of the first speaker were refuted by the second, which were evaded, and which were left untouched. Nor was it only in books that he at this time studied the art of parliamentary fencing. When he was at home, he had frequent opportunities of hearing important debates at Westminster ; and he heard them, not only with interest and enjoyment, but with a close scientific attention resembling that with which a diligent pupil at Guy's Hospital watches every turn of the hand of a great surgeon through a difficult operation. On one of these occasions, Pitt, a youth whose abilities were as yet known only to his own family and to a small knot of college friends, was introduced on the steps of the throne in the House of Lords to Fox, who was his senior by eleven years, and who was already the greatest debater, and one of the greatest orators, that had appeared in England. Fox used afterwards to relate that, as the discussion proceeded, Pitt repeatedly turned to him, and said, "But surely, Mr. Fox, that might be met thus;" or "Yes; but he lays himself open to this retort." What the particular criticisms were Fox had forgotten; but he said that he was much struck at the time by the precocity of a lad who, through the whole sitting, seemed to be thinking only how all the speeches on both sides could be answered.

One of the young man's visits to the House of Lords was a sad and memorable era in his life. He had not quite completed his nineteenth year, when, on the 7th of April 1778, he attended his father to Westminster. A great debate was expected. It was known that France had recognized the independence of the United States. The Duke of Richmond was about to declare his opinion that all thought of subjugating those states ought to be relinquished. Chatham had always maintained that the resistance of the colonies to the mother country was justifiable. But he conceived very erroneously, that on the day on which their independence should be acknowledged the greatness of England would be at an end. Though sinking under the weight of years and infirmities, he determined, in spite of the entreaties of his family, to be in his place. His son supported him to a seat. The excitement and exertion were too much for the old man. In the very act of addressing the peers, he fell back in convulsions. A few weeks later his corpse was borne, with gloomy pomp, from the Painted Chamber to the Abbey. The favourite child and namesake of the deceased statesman followed the coffin as chief mourner, and saw it deposited in the transept where his own was destined to lie.

His elder brother, now Earl of Chatham, had means sufficient, and barely sufficient, to support the dignity of the peerage. The other members of the family were poorly provided for. William had little more than three hundred a year. It was necessary for him to follow a profession. He had already begun to eat his terms. In the spring of 1780 he came of age. He then quitted Cambridge, was called to the bar, took chambers in Lincoln's Inn, and joined the western circuit. In the autumn of that year a general election took place ; and he offered himself as a candidate for the university ; but he was at the bottom of the poll. It is said that the grave doctors who then sate, robed in scarlet, on the benches of Golgotha, thought it great presumption in so young a man to solicit so high a distinction. He was, however, at the request of a hereditary friend, the Duke of Rutland, brought into Parliament by Sir James Lowther for the borough of Appleby.

The dangers of the country were at that time such as might well have disturbed even a constant mind. Army after army had been sent in vain against the rebellious colonists of North America. On pitched fields of battle the advantage had been with the disciplined troops of the mother country. But it was not on pitched fields of battle that the event of such a contest could be decided. An armed nation, with hunger and the Atlantic for auxiliaries, was not to be subjugated. Meanwhile the House of Bourbon, humbled to the dust a few years before by the genius and vigour of Chatham, had seized the opportunity of revenge. France and Spain were united against us, and had recently been joined by Holland. The command of the Mediterranean had been for a time lost. The British flag had been scarcely able to maintain itself in the British Channel. The northern powers professed neutrality ; but their neutrality had a menacing aspect. In the East, Hyder had descended on the Carnatic, had destroyed the little army of Baillie, and had spread terror even to the ramparts of Fort Saint George. The discontents of Ireland threatened nothing less than civil war. In England the authority of the government had sunk to the lowest point. The King and the House of Commons were alike unpopular. The cry for parliamentary reform was scarcely less loud and vehement than in the autumn of 1830. Formidable associations, headed, not by ordinary demagogues, but by men of high rank, stainless character, and distinguished ability, demanded a revision of the representative system. The populace, emboldened by the impotence and irresolution of the government, had recently broken loose from all restraint, besieged the chambers of the legislature, hustled peers, hunted bishops, attacked the residences of ambassadors, opened prisons, burned and pulled down houses. London had presented during some days the aspect of a city taken by storm; and it had been necessary to form a camp among the trees of Saint James's Park.

In spite of dangers and difficulties abroad and at home, George the Third, with a firmness which had little affinity with virtue or with wisdom, persisted in his determination to put down the American rebels by force of arms; and his ministers submitted their judgment to his. Some of them were actuated merely by selfish cupidity: but their chief, Lord North, a man of high honour, amiable temper, winning manners, lively wit, and excellent talents both for business and for debate, must be acquitted of all sordid motives. He remained at a post from which he had long wished and had repeatedly tried to escape, only because he had not sufficient fortitude to resist the entreaties and reproaches of the King, who silenced all arguments by passionately asking whether any gentleman, any man of spirit, could have the heart to desert a kind master in the hour of extremity.

The opposition consisted of two parties which had once been hostile to each other, and which had been very slowly, and, as it soon appeared, very imperfectly reconciled, but which at this conjuncture seemed to act together with cordiality. The larger of these parties consisted of the great body of the Whig aristocracy. Its head was Charles, Marquess of Rockingham, a man of sense and virtue, and in wealth and parliamentary interest equalled by very few of the English nobles, but afflicted with a nervous timidity which prevented him from taking a prominent part in debate. In the House of Commons, the adherents of Rockingham were led by Fox, whose dissipated habits and ruined fortunes were the talk of the whole town, but whose commanding genius, and whose sweet, generous, and affectionate disposition, extorted the admiration and love of those who most lamented the errors of his private life. Burke, superior to Fox in largeness of comprehension, in extent of knowledge, and in splendour of imagination, but less skilled in that kind of logic and in that kind of rhetoric which convince and persuade great assemblies, was willing to be the lieutenant of a young chief who might have been his son.

A smaller section of the opposition was composed of the old followers of Chatham. At their head was William, Earl of Shelburne, distinguished both as a statesman and as a lover of science and letters. With him were leagued Lord Camden, who had formerly held a Great Seal, and whose integrity, ability, and constitutional knowledge commanded the public respect; Barrè, an eloquent and acrimonious declaimer; and Dunning, who had long held the first place at the English bar. It was to this party that Pitt was naturally attracted.

On the 26th of February 1781 he made his first speech in favour of Burke's plan of economical reform. Fox stood up at the same moment, but instantly gave way. The lofty yet animated deportment of the young member, his perfect self-possession, the readiness with which he replied to the orators who had preceded him, the silver tones of his voice, the perfect structure of his unpremeditated sentences, astonished and delighted his hearers. Burke, moved even to tears, exclaimed, "It is not a chip of the old block; it is the old block itself." "Pitt will be one of the first men in Parliament," said a member of the opposition to Fox. "He is so already," answered Fox, in whose nature envy had no place. It is a curious fact, well remembered by some who were very recently living, that soon after this debate Pitt's name was put up by Fox at Brookes's.

On two subsequent occasions during that session Pitt addressed the House, and on both fully sustained the reputation which he had acquired on his first appearance. In the summer, after the prorogation, he again went the western circuit, held several briefs, and acquitted himself in such a manner that he was highly complimented by Buller from the bench, and by Dunning at the bar.

On the 27th of November the Parliament reassembled. Only forty-eight hours before had arrived tidings of the surrender of Cornwallis and his army; and it had consequently been necessary to re-write the royal speech. Every man in the kingdom, except the King, was now convinced that it was mere madness to think of conquering the United States. In the debate on the report of the address, Pitt spoke with even more energy and brilliancy than on any former occasion. He was warmly applauded by his allies; but it was remarked that no person on his own side of the house was so loud in eulogy as Henry Dundas, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, who spoke from the ministerial ranks. That able and versatile politician distinctly foresaw the approaching downfall of the government with which he was connected, and was preparing to make his own escape from the ruin. From that night dates his connection with Pitt, a connection which soon became a close intimacy, and which lasted till it was dissolved by death.

About a fortnight later, Pitt spoke in the committee of supply on the army estimates. Symptoms of dissension had begun to appear on the Treasury bench. Lord George Germaine, the Secretary of State who was especially charged with the direction of the war in America, had held language not easily to be reconciled with declarations made by the First Lord of the Treasury. Pitt noticed the discrepancy with much force and keenness. Lord George and Lord North began to whisper together; and Welbore Ellis, an ancient placeman who had been drawing salary almost every quarter since the days of Henry Pelham, bent down between them to put in a word. Such interruptions sometimes discompose veteran speakers. Pitt stopped, and looking at the group, said, with admirable readiness, "I shall wait till Nestor has composed the dispute between Agamemnon and Achilles."

After several defeats, or victories hardly to be distinguished from defeats, the ministry resigned. The King, reluctantly and ungraciously, consented to accept Rockingham as first minister. Fox and Shelburne became Secretaries of State. Lord John Cavendish, one of the most upright and honourable of men, was made Chancellor of the Exchequer. Thurlow whose abilities and force of character had made him the dictator of the House of Lords, continued to hold the great seal.

To Pitt was offered, through Shelburne, the Vice-Treasurership of Ireland, one of the easiest and most highly paid places in the gift of the Crown; but the offer was, without hesitation, declined. The young statesman had resolved to accept no post which did not entitle him to a seat in the cabinet; and a few days later, he announced that resolution in the House of Commons. It must be remembered that the cabinet was then a much smaller and more select body than at present. We have seen cabinets of sixteen. In the time of our grandfathers a cabinet of ten or eleven was thought inconveniently large. Seven was a usual number. Even Burke, who had taken the lucrative office of Paymaster, was not in the cabinet. Many therefore thought Pitt's declaration indecent. He himself was sorry that he made it. The words, he said in private, had escaped him in the heat of speaking; and he had no sooner uttered them than he would have given the world to recall them. They, however, did him no harm with the public. The second William Pitt, it was said, had shown that he had inherited the spirit, as well as the genius, of the first. In the son, as in the father, there might perhaps be too much pride; but there was nothing low or sordid. It might be called arrogance in a young barrister, living in chambers on three hundred a year, to refuse a salary of five thousand a year, merely because he did not choose to bind himself to speak or vote for plans which he had no share in framing; but surely such arrogance was not very far removed from virtue.

Pitt gave a general support to the administration of Rockingham, but omitted, in the meantime, no opportunity of courting that Ultra-Whig party which the persecution of Wilkes and the Middlesex election had called into existence, and which the disastrous events of the war, and the triumph of republican principles in America, had made formidable both in numbers and in temper. He supported a motion for shortening the duration of Parliaments. He made a motion for a committee to examine into the state of the representation, and, in the speech by which that motion was introduced, avowed himself the enemy of the close boroughs, the strongholds of that corruption to which he attributed all the calamities of the nation, and which, as he phrased it in one of those exact and sonorous sentences of which he had a boundless command, had grown with the growth of England and strengthened with her strength, but had not diminished with her diminution or decayed with her decay. On this occasion he was supported by Fox. The motion was lost by only twenty votes in a house of more than three hundred members. The reformers never again had so good a division till the year 1831.

The new administration was strong in ablities, and was more popular than any administration which had held office since the first year of George the Third, but was hated by the King, hesitatingly supported by the Parliament, and torn by internal dissensions. The Chancellor was disliked and distrusted by almost all his colleagues.

The two Secretaries of State regarded each other with no friendly feeling. The line between their departments had not been traced with precision; and there were consequently jealousies, encroachments, and complaints. It was all that Rockingham could do to keep the peace in his cabinet; and, before the cabinet had existed three months, Rockingham died.

In an instant all was confusion. The adherents of the deceased statesman looked on the Duke of Portland as their chief. The King placed Shelburne at the head of the Treasury. Fox, Lord John Cavendish, and Burke, immediately resigned their offices; and the new prime minister was left to constitute a government out of very defective materials. His own parliamentary talents were great; but he could not be in the place where parliamentary talents were most needed. It was necessary to find some member of the House of Commons who could confront the great orators of the opposition; and Pitt alone had the eloquence and the courage which were required. He was offered the great place of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he accepted it. He had scarcely completed his twenty-third year.

The parliament was speedily prorogued. During the recess, a negotiation for peace which had been commenced under Rockingham was brought to a successful termination. England acknowledged the independence of her revolted colonies; and she ceded to her European enemies some places in the Mediterranean and in the Gulf of Mexico. But the terms which she obtained were quite as advantageous and honourable as the events of the war entitled her to expect, or as she was likely to obtain by persevering in a contest against immense odds. All her vital parts, all the real sources of her power, remained uninjured. She preserved even her dignity; for she ceded to the House of Bourbon only part of what she had won from that House in previous wars. She retained her Indian empire undiminished; and, in spite of the mightiest efforts of two great monarchies, her flag still waved on the rock of Gibraltar. There is not the slightest reason to believe that Fox, if he had remained in office, would have hesitated one moment about concluding a treaty on such conditions. Unhappily that great and most amiable man was, at this crisis, hurried by his passions into an error which made his genius and his virtues, during a long course of years, almost useless to his country.

He saw that the great body of the House of Commons was divided into three parties, his own, that of North, and that of Shelburne; that none of those three parties was large enough to stand alone; that, therefore, unless two of them united, there must be a miserably feeble administration, or, more probably, a rapid succession of miserably feeble administrations, and this at a time when a strong government was essential to the prosperity and respectability of the nation. It was then necessary and right that there should be a coalition. To every possible coalition there were objections. But, of all possible coalitions, that to which there were the fewest objections was undoubtedly a coalition between Shelburne and Fox. It would have been generally applauded by the followers of both. It might have been made without any sacrifice of public principle on the part of either. Unhappily, recent bickerings had left in the mind of Fox a profound dislike and distrust of Shelburne. Pitt attempted to mediate, and was authorized to invite Fox to return to the service of the Crown. "Is Lord Shelburne," said Fox, "to remain prime minister?" Pitt answered in the affirmative. "It is impossible that I can act under him," said Fox. "Then negotiation is at an end," said Pitt; "for I cannot betray him." Thus the two statesmen parted. They were never again in a private room together.

As Fox and his friends would not treat with Shelburne, nothing remained to them but to treat with North. That fatal coalition which is emphatically called "The Coalition," was formed. Not three quarters of a year had elapsed since Fox and Burke had threatened North with impeachment, and had described him, night after night, as the most arbitrary, the most corrupt, the most incapable of ministers. They now allied themselves with him for the purpose of driving from office a statesman with whom they cannot be said to have differed as to any important question. Nor had they even the prudence and the patience to wait for some occasion on which they might, without inconsistency, have combined with their old enemies in opposition to the government. That nothing might be wanting to the scandal, the great orators who had, during seven years, thundered against the war, determined to join with the authors of that war in passing a vote of censure on the peace.

The Parliament met before Christmas 1782. But it was not till January 1783 that the preliminary treaties were signed. On the 17th of February they were taken into consideration by the House of Commons. There had been, during some days, floating rumours that Fox and North had coalesced ; and the debate indicated but too clearly that those rumours were not unfounded. Pitt was suffering from indisposition : he did not rise till his own strength and that of his hearers were exhausted ; and he was consequently less successful than on any former occasion. His admirers owned that his speech was feeble and petulant. He so far forgot himself as to advise Sheridan to confine himself to amusing theatrical audiences. This ignoble sarcasm gave Sheridan an opportunity of retorting with great felicity. " After what I have seen and heard to-night," he said, " I really feel strongly tempted to venture on a competition with so great an artist as Ben Johnson, and to bring on the stage a second Angry Boy." On a division, the address proposed by the supporters of the government was rejected by a majority of sixteen.

But Pitt was not a man to be disheartened by a single failure, or to be put down by the most lively repartee. When, a few days later, the opposition, proposed a resolution directly censuring the treaties, he spoke with an eloquence, energy, and dignity, which raised his fame and popularity higher than ever. To the coalition of Fox and North he alluded in language which drew forth tumultuous applause from his followers. "If," he said, "this ill-omened and unnatural marriage be not yet consummated, I know of a just and lawful impediment; and, in the name of the public weal, I forbid the banns."

The ministers were again left in the minority, and Shelburne consequently tendered his resignation. It was accepted: but the King struggled long and hard before he submitted to the terms dictated by Fox, whose faults he detested, and whose high spirit and powerful intellect he detested still more. The first place at the board of Treasury was repeatedly offered to Pitt; but the offer, though tempting, was steadfastly declined. The young man whose judgment was as precocious as his eloquence, saw that his time was coming, but was not come, and was deaf to royal importunities and reproaches. His Majesty, bitterly complaining of Pitt's faintheartedness, tried to break the coalition. Every art of seduction was practised on North, but in vain. During several weeks the country remained without a government. It was not till all devices had failed, and till the aspect of the House of Commons became threatening, that the King gave way. The Duke of Portland was declared First Lord of the Treasury. Thurlow was dismissed. Fox and North became Secretaries of State, with power ostensibly equal. But Fox was the real prime minister.

The year was far advanced before the new arrangements were completed; and nothing very important was done during the remainder of the session. Pitt, now seated on the opposition bench, brought the question of parliamentary reform a second time under the consideration of the

Commons. He proposed to add to the House at once a hundred-county members and several members for metropolitan districts, and to enact that every borough of which an election committee should report that the majority of voters appeared to be corrupt should lose the franchise. The motion was rejected by 293 votes to 149.

After the prorogation, Pitt visited the Continent for the first and last time. His travelling companion was one of his most intimate friends, a young man of his own age, who had already distinguished himself in Parliament by an engaging natural eloquence, set off by the sweetest and most exquisitely modulated of human voices, and whose affectionate heart, caressing manners, and brilliant wit, made him the most delightful of companions, William Wilberforce. That was the time of Anglomania in France; and at Paris the son of the great Chatham was absolutely hunted by men of letters and women of fashion, and forced, much against his will, into political disputation. One remarkable saying which dropped from him during this tour has been preserved. A French gentleman expressed some surprise at the immense influence which Fox, a man of pleasure, ruined by the dice-box and the turf, exercised over the English nation. "You have not," said Pitt, "been under the wand of the magician."

In November 1783 the Parliament met again. The government had irresistible strength in the House of Commons, and seemed to be scarcely less strong in the House of Lords, but was in truth, surrounded on every side by dangers. The King was impatiently waiting for the moment at which he could emancipate himself from a yoke which galled him so severely, that he had more than once seriously thought of retiring to Hanover; and the King was scarcely more eager for a change than a nation. Fox and North had committed a fatal error. They ought to have known that coalitions between parties which have long been hostile can succeed only when the wish for coalition pervades the lower ranks of both. If the leaders unite before there is any disposition to union among the followers, the probability is that there will be a mutiny in both camps, and that the two revolted armies will make a truce with each other, in order to be revenged on those by whom they think that they have been betrayed. Thus it was in 1783. At the beginning of that eventful year, North had been the recognized head of the old Tory party, which, though for a moment prostrated by the disastrous issue of the American war, was still a great power in the state. To him the clergy, the universities, and that large body of country gentlemen whose rallying cry was "Church and King," had long looked up with respect and confidence. Fox had, on the other hand, been the idol of the Whigs, and of the whole body of Protestant dissenters. The coalition at once alienated the most zealous Tories from North, and the most zealous Whigs from Fox. The University of Oxford, which had marked its approbation of North's orthodoxy by electing him chancellor, the City of London, which had been during two and twenty years at war with the Court, were equally disgusted. Squires and rectors, who had inherited the principles of the cavaliers of the preceding century, could not forgive their old leader for combining with disloyal subjects in order to put a force on the sovereign. The members of the Bill of Rights Society and of the Reform Associations were enraged by learning that their favourite orator now called the great champion of tyranny and corruption his noble friend. Two great multitudes were at once left without any head, and both at once turned their eyes on Pitt. One party saw in him the only man who could rescue the King; the other saw in him the only man who could purify the Parliament. He was supported on one side by Archbishop Markham, the preacher of divine right, and by Jenkinson, the captain of the Prætorian band of the King's friends; on the other side by Jebb and Priestley, Sawbridge and Cartwright, Jack Wilkes and Horne Tooke. On the benches of the House of Commons, however, the ranks of the ministerial majority were unbroken ; and that any statesman would venture to brave such a majority was thought impossible. No prince of the Hanoverian line had ever, under any provocation, ventured to appeal from the representative body to the constituent body. The ministers, therefore, notwithstanding the sullen looks and muttered words of displeasure with which their suggestions were received in the closet, notwithstanding the roar of obloquy which was rising louder and louder every day from every corner of the island, thought themselves secure.

Such was their confidence in their strength that, as soon as the Parliament had met, they brought forward a singularly bold and original plan for the government of the British territories in India. What was proposed was that the whole authority, which till that time had been exercised over those territories by the East India Company, should be transferred to seven commissioners who were to be named by Parliament, and were not to be removable at the pleasure of the Crown. Earl Fitzwilliam, the most intimate personal friend of Fox, was to be chairman of this board, and the eldest son of North was to be one of the members.

As soon as the outlines of the scheme were known, all the hatred which the coalition had excited burst forth with an astounding explosion. The question which ought undoubtedly to have been considered as paramount to every other was, whether the proposed change was likely to be beneficial or injurious to the thirty millions of people who were subject to the Company. But that question cannot be said to have been even seriously discussed. Burke, who, whether right or wrong in the conclusions to which he came, had at least the merit of looking at the subject in the right point of view, vainly reminded his hearers of that mighty population whose daily rice might depend on a vote of the British Parliament. He spoke with even more than his wonted power of thought and language, about the desolation of Rohilcund, about the spoliation of Benares, about the evil policy which had suffered the tanks of the Carnatic to go to ruin ; but he could scarcely obtain a hearing. The contending parties, to their shame it must be said, would listen to none but English topics. Out of doors the cry against the ministry was almost universal. Town and country were united. Corporations exclaimed against the violation of the charter of the greatest corporation in the realm. Tories and democrats joined in pronouncing the proposed board an unconstitutional body. It was to consist of Fox's nominees. The effect of his bill was to give, not to the Crown, but to him personally, whether in office or in opposition, an enormous power, a patronage sufficient to counter-balance the patronage of the Treasury and of the Admiralty, and to decide the elections for fifty boroughs. He knew, it was said, that he was hateful alike to King and people ; and he had devised a plan which would make him independent of both. Some nicknamed him Cromwell, and some Carlo Khan. Wilberforce, with his usual felicity of expression, and with very unusual bitterness of feeling, described the scheme as the genuine offspring of the coalition, as marked with the features of both its parents, the corruption of one and the violence of the other. In spite of all opposition, however, the bill was supported in every stage by great majorities, was rapidly passed, and was sent up to the Lords. To the general astonishment, when the second reading was moved in the Upper House, the opposition proposed an adjournment, and carried it by eighty-seven votes to seventy-nine. The cause of this strange turn of fortune was soon known. Pitt's cousin, Earl Temple, had been in the royal closet, and had there been authorized to let it be known that His Majesty would consider all who voted for the bill as his enemies. The ignominous commission was performed, and instantly a troop of Lords of the Bedchamber, of Bishops who wished to be translated, and of Scotch peers who wished to be re-elected, made haste to change sides. On a later day, the Lords rejected the bill. Fox and North were immediately directed to send their seals to the palace by their Under Secretaries; and Pitt was appointed First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The general opinion was, that there would be an immediate dissolution. But Pitt wisely determined to give the public feeling time to gather strength. On this point he differed from his kinsman Temple. The consequence was, that Temple, who had been appointed one of the Secretaries of State, resigned his office forty-eight hours after he had accepted it, and thus relieved the new government from a great load of unpopularity: for all men of sense and honour, however strong might be their dislike of the India Bill, disapproved of the manner in which that bill had been thrown out. Temple carried away with him the scandal which the best friends of the new government could not but lament. The fame of the young prime minister preserved its whiteness. He could declare with perfect truth that, if unconstitutional machinations had been employed, he had been no party to them. ✓

He was, however, surrounded by difficulties and dangers. In the House of Lords, indeed, he had a majority; nor could any orator of the opposition in that assembly be considered as a match for Thurlow, who was now again Chancellor, or for Camden, who cordially supported the son of his old friend Chatham. But in the other House there was not a single eminent speaker among the official men who sat round Pitt. His most useful assistant was Dundas, who, though he had not eloquence, had sense, knowledge, readiness, and boldness. On the opposite benches was a powerful majority, led by Fox, who was supported by Burke, North, and Sheridan. The heart of the young minister, stout as it was, almost died within him. He could not once close his eyes on the night which followed Temple's resignation. But, whatever his internal emotions might be, his language and deportment indicated nothing but unconquerable firmness and haughty confidence in his own powers. His contest against the House of Commons lasted from the 17th of December 1783 to the 8th of March 1784. In sixteen divisions the opposition triumphed. Again and again the King was requested to dismiss his ministers. But he was determined to go to Germany rather than yield. Pitt's resolution never wavered. The cry of the nation in his favour became vehement and almost furious. Addresses assuring him of public support came up daily from every part of the kingdom. The freedom of the city of London was presented to him in a gold box. He went in state to receive this mark of distinction. He was sumptuously feasted in Grocers' Hall; and the shopkeepers of the Strand and Fleet Street illuminated their houses in his honour. These things could not but produce an effect within the walls of Parliament. The ranks of the majority began to waver; a few passed over to the enemy; some skulked away; many were for capitulating while it was still possible to capitulate with the honours of war. Negotiations were opened with the view of forming an administration on a wide basis, but they had scarcely been opened when they were closed. The opposition demanded, as a preliminary article of the treaty, that Pitt should resign the Treasury; and with this demand Pitt steadfastly refused to comply. While the contest was raging, the Clerkship of the Pells, a sinecure place for life, worth three thousand a year, and tenable with a seat in the House of Commons, became vacant. The appointment was with the Chancellor of the Exchequer; nobody doubted that he would appoint himself; and nobody could have blamed him if he had done so: for such sinecure offices had always been defended on the ground that they enabled a few men of eminent abilities and small incomes to live without any profession, and to devote themselves to the service of the state. Pitt, in spite of the remonstrances of his friends, gave the Pells to his father's old adherent, Colonel Barré, a man distinguished by talent and eloquence, but poor and afflicted with blindness. By this arrangement a pension which the Rockingham administration had granted to Barré was saved to the public. Never was there a happier stroke of policy. About treaties, wars, expeditions, tariffs, budgets, there will always be room for dispute. The policy which is applauded by half the nation may be condemned by the other half. But pecuniary disinterestedness everybody comprehends. It is a great thing for a man who has only three hundred a year to be able to show that he considers three thousand a year as mere dirt beneath his feet, when compared with the public interest and the public esteem. Pitt had his reward. No minister was ever more rancorously libelled; but even when he was known to be overwhelmed with debt, when millions were passing through his hands, when the wealthiest magnates of the realm were soliciting him for marquisates and garters, his bitterest enemies did not dare to accuse him of touching unlawful gain.

At length the hard fought fight ended. A final remonstrance, drawn up by Burke with admirable skill, was carried on the 8th of March by a single vote in a full House. Had the experiment been repeated, the supporters of the coalition would probably have been in a minority. But the supplies had been voted; the Mutiny Bill had been passed; and the Parliament was dissolved.

The popular constituent bodies all over the country were in general enthusiastic on the side of the new government. A hundred and sixty of the supporters of the coalition lost their seats. The first Lord of the Treasury himself came in at the head of the poll for the University of Cambridge. His young friend, Wilberforce was erected Knight of the great shire of York, in opposition to the whole influence of the Fitzwilliams, Cavendishes, Dundases, and Saviles. In the midst of such triumphs Pitt completed his twenty-fifth year. He was now the greatest subject that England had seen during many generations. He domineered absolutely over the cabinet, and was the favourite at once of the

Sovereign, of the Parliament, and of the nation. His father had never been so powerful, nor Walpole, nor Marlborough..

This narrative has now reached a point, beyond which a full history of the life of Pitt would be a history of England, or rather of the whole civilized world; and for such a history this is not the proper place. Here a very slight sketch must suffice; and in that sketch prominence will be given to such points as may enable a reader who is already acquainted with the general course of events to form a just notion of the character of the man on whom so much depended.

If we wish to arrive at a correct judgment of Pitt's merits and defects, we must never forget that he belonged to a peculiar class of statesmen, and that he must be tried by a peculiar standard. It is not easy to compare him fairly with such men as Ximenés and Sully, Richelieu and Oxenstiern, John De Witt and Warren Hastings. The means by which those politicians governed great communities were of quite a different kind from those which Pitt was under the necessity of employing. Some talents, which they never had any opportunity of showing that they possessed, were developed in him to an extraordinary degree. In some qualities, on the other hand, to which they owe a large part of their fame, he was decidedly their inferior. They transacted business in their closets, or at boards where a few confidential councillors sate. It was his lot to be born in an age and in a country, in which parliamentary government was completely established; his whole training from infancy was such as fitted him to bear a part in parliamentary government, and from the prime of his manhood to his death, all the powers of his vigorous mind were almost constantly exerted in the work of parliamentary government. He accordingly became the greatest master of the whole art of parliamentary government that has ever existed, a greater than Montague or Walpole, a greater than his father Chatham or his rival Fox, a greater than either of his illustrious successors Canning and Peel.

Parliamentary government, like every other contrivance of man, has its advantages and its disadvantages. On the advantages there is no need to dilate. The history of England during the hundred and seventy years which have elapsed since the House of Commons became the most powerful body in the state, her immense and still growing prosperity, her freedom, her tranquillity, her greatness in arts, in sciences, and in arms, her maritime ascendancy, the marvels of her public credit, her American, her African, her Australian, her Asiatic empires, sufficiently prove the excellence of her institutions. But those institutions, though excellent, are assuredly not perfect. Parliamentary government is government by speaking. In such a government, the power of speaking is the most highly prized of all the qualities which a politician can possess; and that power may exist, in the highest degree without judgment, without fortitude, without skill in reading the characters of men or the signs of the times, without any knowledge of the principles of legislation or of political economy, and without any skill in diplomacy or in the administration of war. Nay, it may well happen that those very intellectual qualities which give a peculiar charm to the speeches of a public man may be incompatible with the qualities which would fit him to meet a pressing emergency with promptitude and firmness. It was thus with Charles Townshend. It was thus with Windham. It was a privilege to listen to those accomplished and ingenious orators. But in a perilous crisis they would have been found far inferior in all the qualities of rulers to such a man as Oliver Cromwell, who talked nonsense, or as William the Silent, who did not talk at all. When parliamentary government is established, a Charles Townshend or a Windham will almost always exercise much greater influence than such men as the great Protector of England, or as the founder of the Batavian commonwealth. In such a government, parliamentary talent, though quite distinct from the talents of a good executive or judicial officer, will be a chief qualification for executive and judicial office. From the Book of Dignities a curious list might be made out of Chancellors ignorant of the principles of equity, and First Lords of the Admiralty ignorant of the principles of navigation, of Colonial ministers who could not repeat the names of the Colonies, of Lords of the Treasury who did not know the difference between funded and unfunded debt, and of Secretaries of the India Board who did not know whether the Mahrattas were Mahometans or Hindoos. On these grounds, some persons, incapable of seeing more than one side of a question, have pronounced parliamentary government a positive evil, and have maintained that the administration would be greatly improved if the power, now exercised by a large assembly, were transferred to a single person. Men of sense will probably think the remedy very much worse than the disease, and will be of opinion that there would be small gain in exchanging Charles Townshend and Windham for the Prince of the Peace, or the poor slave and dog Steenie.

Pitt was emphatically the man of parliamentary government, the type of his class, the minion, the child, the spoiled child, of the House of Commons. For the House of Commons he had a hereditary, an infantine love. Through his whole boyhood, the House of Commons was never out of his thoughts, or out of the thoughts of his instructors. Reciting at his father's knee, reading Thucydides and Cicero into English, analyzing the great Attic speeches on the Embassy and on the Crown, he was constantly in training for the conflicts of the House of Commons. He was a distinguished member of the House of Commons at twenty-one. The ability which he had displayed in the House of Commons made him the most powerful subject in Europe before he was twenty-five. It would have been happy for himself and for his country if his elevation had been deferred. Eight or ten years, during which he would have had leisure aud opportunity for reading and reflection, for foreign travel, for social intercourse and free exchange of thought on equal terms with a great variety of companions, would have supplied what, without any fault on his part, was wanting to his powerful intellect. He had all the knowledge that he could be expected to have ; that is to say, all the knowledge that a man can acquire while he is a student at Cambridge, and all the knowledge that a man can acquire when he is First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. But the stock of general information which he brought from college, extraordinary for a boy, was far inferior to what Fox possessed, and beggarly when compared with the massy, the splendid, the various treasures laid up in the large mind of Burke. After Pitt became minister, he had no leisure to learn more than was necessary for the purposes of the day which was passing over him. What was necessary for those purposes such a man could learn with little difficulty. He was surrounded by experienced and able public servants. He could at any moment command their best assistance. From the stores which they produced his vigorous mind rapidly collected the materials for a good parliamentary case: and that was enough. Legislation and administration were with him secondary matters. To the work of framing statutes, of negotiating treaties, of organizing fleets and armies, of sending forth expeditions, he gave only the leavings of his time and the dregs of his fine intellect. The strength and sap of his mind were all drawn in a different direction. It was when the House of Commons was to be convinced and persuaded that he put forth all his powers.

Of those powers we must form our estimate chiefly from tradition; for of all the eminent speakers of the last age, Pitt has suffered most from the reporters. Even while he was still living, critics remarked that his eloquence could not be preserved, that he must be heard to be appreciated. They more than once applied to him the sentence in which Tacitus describes the fate of a senator whose rhetoric was admired in the Augustan age: "Haterii canorum illud et profluens cum ipso simul exstinctum est." There is, however, abundant evidence that nature had bestowed on Pitt the talents of a great orator; and those talents had been developed in a very peculiar manner, first by his education, and secondly by the high official position to which he rose early, and in which he passed the greater part of his public life.

At his first appearance in Parliament he showed himself superior to all his contemporaries in command of language. He could pour forth a long succession of round and stately periods, without premeditation, without ever pausing for a word, without ever repeating a word, in a voice of silver clearness, and with a pronunciation so articulate that not a letter was slurred over. He had less amplitude of mind and less richness of imagination than Burke, less ingenuity than Windham, less wit than Sheridan, less perfect mastery of dialectical fence, and less of that highest sort of eloquence which consists of reason and passion fused together, than Fox. Yet the almost unanimous judgment of those who were in the habit of listening to that remarkable race of men placed Pitt, as a speaker, above Burke, above Windham, above Sheridan, and not below Fox. His declamation was copious, polished and splendid. In power of sarcasm he was probably not surpassed by any speaker, ancient or modern; and of this formidable weapon he made merciless use. In two parts of the oratorical art which are of the highest value to a minister of state he was singularly expert. No man knew better how to be luminous or how to be obscure. When he wished to be understood, he never failed to make himself understood. He could with ease present to his audience, not perhaps an exact or profound, but a clear, popular, and plausible view of the most extensive and complicated subject. Nothing was out of place; nothing was forgotten; minute details, dates, sums of money, were all faithfully preserved in his memory. Even intricate questions of finance, when explained by him, seemed clear to the plainest man among his hearers. On the other hand, when he did not wish to be explicit,—and no man who is at the head of affairs always wishes to be explicit,—he had a marvellous power of saying nothing in language which left on his audience the impression that he had said a great deal. He was at once the only man who could open a budget without notes, and the only man who, as Windham said, could speak that most elaborately evasive and unmeaning of human compositions, a King's speech, without premeditation. +

The effect of oratory will always to a great extent depend on the character of the orator. There perhaps never were two speakers whose eloquence had more of what may be called the race, more of the flavour imparted by moral qualities, than Fox and Pitt. The speeches of Fox owe a great part of their charm to that warmth and softness of heart, that sympathy with human suffering, that admiration for everything great and beautiful, and that hatred of cruelty and injustice, which interest and delight us even in the most defective reports. No person, on the other hand, could hear Pitt without perceiving him to be a man of high, intrepid, and commanding spirit, proudly conscious of his own rectitude and of his own intellectual superiority, incapable of the low vices of fear and envy, but too prone to feel and to show disdain. Pride, indeed, pervaded the whole man, was written in the harsh, rigid lines of his face, was marked by the way in which he walked, in which he sate, in which he stood, and, above all, in which he bowed. Such pride, of course, inflicted many wounds. It may confidently be affirmed that there cannot be found, in all the ten thousand invectives written against Fox, a word indicating that his demeanour had ever made a single personal enemy. On the other hand, several men of note who had been partial to Pitt, and who to the last continued to approve his public conduct and to support his administration, Cumberland for example, Boswell, and Matthias, were so much irritated by the contempt with which he treated them, that they complained in print of their wrongs. But his pride, though it made him bitterly disliked by individuals, inspired the great body of his followers in Parliament and throughout the country with respect and confidence. They took him at his own valuation. They saw that his self-esteem was not that of an upstart who was drunk with good luck and with applause, and who, if fortune turned, would sink from arrogance into abject humility. It was that of the magnanimous man so finely described by Aristotle in the Ethics, of the man who thinks himself worthy of great things, being in truth worthy. It sprang from a consciousness of great powers and great virtues, and was never so conspicuously displayed as in the midst of difficulties and dangers which would have unnerved and bowed down any ordinary mind. It was closely connected, too, with an ambition which had no mixture of low cupidity. There was something noble in the cynical disdain with which the mighty ministers scattered riches and titles to right and left among those who valued them, while he spurned them out of his own way. Poor himself, he was surrounded by friends on whom he had bestowed three thousand, six thousand, ten thousand a year. Plain Mister himself, he had made more lords than any three ministers that had preceded him. The garter, for which the first dukes in the kingdom were contending, was repeatedly offered to him, and offered in vain.

The correctness of his private life added much to the dignity of his public character. In the relations of son, brother, uncle, master, friend, his conduct was exemplary. In the small circle of his intimate associates, he was amiable, affectionate, even playful. They loved him sincerely; they regretted him long; and they would hardly admit that he who was so kind and gentle with them could be stern and haughty with others. He indulged, indeed, somewhat too freely in wine, which he had early been directed to take as a medicine, and which use had made a necessary of life to him. But it was very seldom that any indication of undue excess could be detected in his tones or gestures; and, in truth, two bottles of port were little more to him than two dishes of tea. He had, when he was first introduced into the clubs of Saint James's Street, shown a strong taste for play; but he had the prudence and the resolution to stop before this taste had acquired the strength of habit. From the passion which generally exercises the most tyrannical dominion over the young he possessed an immunity, which is probably to be ascribed partly to his temperament and party to his situation. His constitution was feeble; he was very shy; and he was very busy. The strictness of his morals furnished such baffoons as Peter Pinder and Captain Morris with an inexhaustible theme for merriment of no very delicate kind. But the great body of the middle class of Englishmen could not see the joke. They warmly praised the young statesman for commanding his passions, and for covering his frailties, if he had frailties, with decorous obscurity, and would have been very far indeed from thinking better of him if he had vindicated himself from the taunts of his enemies by taking under his protection a Nancy Parsons or a Marianne Clark.

No part of the immense popularity which Pitt long enjoyed is to be attributed to the eulogies of wits and poets. It might have been naturally expected that a man of genius, of learning, of taste, an orator whose diction was often compared to that of Tully, the representative, too, of a great university, would have taken a peculiar pleasure in befriending eminent writers,. to whatever political party they might have belonged. The love of literature had induced Augustus to heap benefits on Pompeians, Somers to be the protector of nonjurors, Harley to make the fortunes of Whigs. But it could not move Pitt to show any favour even to Pittites. He was doubtless right in thinking that, in general, poetry, history, and philosophy, ought to be suffered, like calico and cutlery, to find their proper price in the market, and that to teach men of letters to look habitually to the state for their recompense is bad for the state and bad for letters. Assuredly nothing can be more absurd or mischievous than to waste the public money in bounties for the purpose of inducing people who ought to be weighing out grocery or measuring out drapery to write bad or middling books. But, though the sound rule is that authors should be left to be remunerated by their readers, there will, in every generation, be a few exceptions to this rule. To distinguish these special cases from the mass is an employment well worthy of the faculties of a great and accomplished ruler; and Pitt would assuredly have had little difficulty in finding such cases. While he was in power, the greatest philologist of the age, his own contemporary at Cambridge, was reduced to earn a livelihood by the lowest literary drudgery, and to spend in writing squibs for the Morning Chronicle years to which we might have owed an all but perfect text of the whole tragic and comic drama of Athens. The greatest historian of the age, forced by proverty to leave his country, completed his immortal work on the shores of Lake Leman. The political heterodoxy of Porson, and the religious heterodoxy of Gibbon, may perhaps be pleaded in defence of the minister by whom those eminent men were neglected. But there were other cases in which no such excuse could be set up. Scarcely had Pitt obtained possession of unbounded power when an aged writer of the highest eminence, who had made very little by his writings, and who was sinking into the grave under a load of infirmities and sorrows, wanted five or six hundred pounds to enable him, during the winter or two which might still remain to him, to draw his breath more easily in the soft climate of Italy. Not a farthing was to be obtained; and before Christmas the author of the English Dictionary and of the Lives of the Poets had gasped his last in the river fog and coal smoke of Fleet Street. A few months after the death of Johnson appeared the Task, incomparably the best poem that any Englishman then living had produced — a poem, too, which could hardly fail to excite in a well constituted mind a feeling of esteem and compassion for the poet, a man of genius and virtue, whose means were scanty, and whom the most cruel of all the calamities incident to humanity had made incapable of supporting himself by vigorous and sustained exertion. Nowhere had Chatham been praised with more enthusiasm, or in verse more worthy of the subject, than in the Task. The son of Chatham, however, contented himself with reading and admiring the book, and left the author to starve. The pension which, long after, enabled poor Cowper to close his melancholy life, unmolested by duns and bailiffs, was obtained for him by the strenuous kindness of Lord Spencer. What a contrast between the way in which Pitt acted towards Johnson and the way in which Lord Grey acted towards his political enemy Scott, when Scott, worn out by misfortune and disease, was advised to try the effect of the Italian air! What a contrast between the way in which Pitt acted towards Cowper and the way in which Burke, a poor man and out of place, acted towards Crabbe! Even Dundas, who made no pretensions to literary taste, and was content to be considered as a hard-headed and somewhat coarse man of business, was, when compared with his eloquent and classically educated friend, a Mæcenas or a Leo. Dundas made Burns an exciseman, with seventy pounds a year; and this was more than Pitt, during his long tenure of power, did for the encouragement of letters. Even those who may think that it is, in general, no part of the duty of a government to reward literary merit, will hardly deny that a government, which has much lucrative church preferment in its gift, is bound, in distributing that preferment, not to overlook divines whose writings have rendered great service to the cause of religion. But it seems never to have occurred to Pitt that he lay under any such obligation. All the theological works of all the numerous bishops whom he made and translated are not, when put together, worth fifty pages of the Horæ Paulinæ, of the Natural Theology, or of the View of the Evidences of Christianity. But on Paley the all-powerful minister never bestowed the smallest benefice. Artists Pitt treated as contemptuously as writers. For painting he did simply nothing. Sculptors, who had been selected to execute monuments voted by Parliament, had to haunt the anti-chambers of the Treasury during many years before they could obtain a farthing from him. One of them, after vainly soliciting the minister for payment during fourteen years, had the courage to present a memorial to the King, and thus obtained tardy and ungracious justice. Architects it was absolutely necessary to employ; and the worst that could be found seem to have been employed. Not a single fine public building of any kind or in any style was erected during his long administration. It may be confidently affirmed that no ruler whose abilities and attainments would bear any comparison with his has ever shown such cold disdain for what is excellent in arts and letters.

His first administration lasted seventeen years. That long period is divided by a strongly marked line into two almost exactly equal parts. The first part ended and the second began in the autumn of 1792. Throughout both parts Pitt displayed in the highest degree the talents of a parliamentary leader. During the first part he was a fortunate, and, in many respects, a skilful administrator. With the difficulties which he had to encounter during the second part he was altogether incapable of contending: but his eloquence and his perfect mastery of the tactics of the House of Commons concealed his incapacity from the multitude.

The eight years which followed the general election of 1784 were as tranquil and prosperous as any eight years in the whole history of England. Neighbouring nations which had lately been in arms against her, and which had flattered themselves that, in losing her American colonies, she had lost a chief source of her wealth and of her power, saw, with wonder and vexation, that she was more wealthy and more powerful than ever. Her trade increased. Her manufactures flourished. Her exchequer was full to overflowing. Very idle apprehensions were generally entertained, that the public debt, though much less than a third of the debt which we now bear with ease, would be found too heavy for the strength of the nation. Those apprehensions might not perhaps have been easily quieted by reason. But Pitt quieted them by a juggle. He succeeded in persuading first himself, and then the whole nation, his opponents included, that a new sinking fund, which, so far as it differed from former sinking funds, differed for the worse, would, by virtue of some mysterious power of propagation belonging to money, put into the pocket of the public creditor great sums not taken out of the pocket of the taxpayer. The country, terrified by a danger which was no danger, hailed with delight and boundless confidence a remedy which was no remedy. The minister was almost universally extolled as the greatest of financiers. Meanwhile both the branches of the House of Bourbon found that England was as formidable an antagonist as she had ever been. France had formed a plan for reducing Holland to vassalage. But England interposed, and France receded. Spain interrupted by violence the trade of our merchants with the regions near the Oregon. But England armed, and Spain receded. Within the island there was profound tranquillity. The King was, for the first time popular. During the twenty-three years which had followed his accession he had not been loved by his subjects. His domestic virtues were acknowledged. But it was generally thought that the good qualities by which he was distinguished in private life were wanting to his political character. As a Sovereign, he was resentful, unforgiving, stubborn, cunning. Under his rule the country had sustained cruel disgraces and disasters ; and every one of those disgraces and disasters was imputed to his strong antipathies, and to his perverse obstinacy in the wrong. One statesman after another complained that he had been induced by royal caresses, entreaties, and promises, to undertake the direction of affairs at a difficult conjuncture, and that, as soon as he had, not without sullying his fame and alienating his best friends, served the turn for which he was wanted, his ungrateful master began to intrigue against him, and to canvass against him. Grenville, Rockingham, Chatham, men of widely different characters, but all three upright and high-spirited, agreed in thinking that the Prince under whom they had successively held the highest place in the government was one of the most insincere of mankind. His confidence was reposed, they said, not in those known and responsible counsellors to whom he had delivered the seals of office, but in secret advisers who stole up the back stairs into his closet. In Parliament, his ministers, while defending themselves against the attacks of the opposition in front, were perpetually, at his instigation, assailed on the flank or in the rear by a vile band of mercenaries who called themselves his friends. These men constantly, while in possession of lucrative places in his service, spoke and voted against bills which he had authorized the First Lord of the Treasury or the Secretary of State to bring in. But from the day on which Pitt was placed at the head of affairs there was an end of secret influence. His haughty and aspiring spirit was not to be satisfied with the mere show of power. Any attempt to undermine him at Court, any mutinous movement among his followers in the House of Commons, was certain to be at once put down. He had only to tender his resignation ; and he could dictate his own terms. For he, and he alone, stood between the King and the Coalition. He was therefore little less than Mayor of the Palace. The nation loudly applauded the King for having the wisdom to repose entire confidence in so excellent a minister. His Majesty's private virtues now began to produce their full effect. He was generally regarded as the model of a respectable country gentleman, honest, good-natured, sober, religious. He rose early : he dined temperately : he was strictly faithful to his wife : he never missed church ; and at church he never missed a response. His people heartily prayed that he might long reign over them ; and they prayed the more heartily because his virtues were set off to the best advantage by the vices and follies of the Prince of Wales, who lived in close intimacy with the chiefs of the opposition.

How strong this feeling was in the public mind appeared signally on one great occasion. In the autumn of 1788 the King became insane. The opposition, eager for office, committed the great indiscretion of asserting that the heir apparent had, by the fundamental laws of England, a right to be Regent with the full powers of royalty. Pitt, on the other hand, maintained it to be the constitutional doctrine that, when a Sovereign is, by reason of infancy, disease, or absence, incapable of exercising the regal functions, it belongs to the estates of the realm to determine who shall be the vicegerent, and with what portion of the executive authority such vicegerent shall be entrusted. A long and violent contest followed, in which Pitt was supported by the great body of the people with as much enthusiasm as during the first months of his administration. Tories with one voice applauded him for defending the sick-bed of a virtuous and unhappy Sovereign against a disloyal faction and an undutiful son. Not a few Whigs applauded him for asserting the authority of Parliaments and the principles of the Revolution, in opposition to a doctrine which seemed to have too much affinity with the servile theory of indefeasible hereditary right. The middle class, always zealous on the side of decency and the domestic virtues, looked forward with dismay to a reign resembling that of Charles II. The palace, which had now been, during thirty years, the pattern of an English home, would be a public nuisance, a school of profligacy. To the good King's repast of mutton and lemonade, despatched at three o'clock, would succeed midnight banquets, from which the guests would be carried home speechless. To the back-gammon board at which the good King played for a little silver with his equerries, would succeed faro tables from which young patricians who had sate down rich would rise up beggars. The drawing-room, from which the frown of the Queen had repelled a whole generation of frail beauties, would now be again what it had been in the days of Barbara Palmer and Louisa de Querouaille. Nay, severely as the public reprobated the Prince's many illicit attachments, his one virtuous attachment was reprobated more severely still. Even in grave and pious circles his Protestant mistresses gave less scandal than his Popish wife. That he must be Regent nobody ventured to deny. But he and his friends were so unpopular that Pitt could, with general approbation, propose to limit the powers of the Regent by restrictions to which it would have been impossible to subject a Prince beloved and trusted by the country. Some interested men, fully expecting a change of administration, went over to the opposition. But the majority, purified by these desertions, closed its ranks, and presented a more firm array than ever to the enemy. In every division Pitt was victorious. When at length, after a stormy interregnum of three months, it was announced, on the very eve of the inauguration of the Regent, that the King was himself again, the nation was wild with delight. On the evening of the day on which His Majesty resumed his functions, a spontaneous illumination, the most general that had ever been seen in England, brightened the whole vast space from Highgate to Tooting, and from Hammersmith to Greenwich. On the day on which he returned thanks in cathedral of his capital, all the horses and carriages within a hundred miles of London were too few for the multitudes which flocked to see him pass through the streets. A second illumination followed, which was even superior to the first in magnificence. Pitt with difficulty escaped from the tumultuous kindness of an innumerable multitude which insisted on drawing his coach from Saint Paul's Churchyard to Downing Street. This was the moment at which his fame and fortune may be said to have reached the zenith. His influence in the closet was as great as that of Carr or Villiers had been. His dominion over the Parliament was more absolute than that of

Walpole or Pelham had been. He was at the same time as high in the favour of the populace as ever Wilkes or Sacheverell had been. Nothing did more to raise his character than his noble poverty. It was well known that, if he had been dismissed from office after more than five years of boundless power, he would hardly have carried out with him a sum sufficient to furnish the set of chambers in which, as he cheerfully declared, he meant to resume the practice of the law. His admirers, however, were by no means disposed to suffer him to depend on daily toil for his daily bread. The voluntary contributions which were awaiting his acceptance in the city of London alone would have sufficed to make him a rich man. But it may be doubted whether his haughty spirit would have stooped to accept a provision so honourably earned and so honourably bestowed.

To such a height of power and glory had this extraordinary man risen at twenty-nine years of age. And now the tide was on the turn. Only ten days after the triumphant procession to Saint Paul's, the States-General of France, after an interval of a hundred and seventy-four years, met at Versailles.

The nature of the great Revolution which followed was long very imperfectly understood in the country. Burke saw much further than any of his contemporaries; but whatever his sagacity descried was refracted and discoloured by his passions and his imagination. More than three years elapsed before the principles of the English administration underwent any material change. Nothing could as yet be milder or more strictly constitutional than the minister's domestic policy. Not a single act indicating an arbitrary temper or a jealousy of the people could be imputed to him. He had never applied to Parliament for any extraordinary powers. He had never used with harshness the ordinary powers entrusted by the constitution to the executive government. Not a single state prosecution which would even now be called oppressive had been instituted by him. Indeed, the only oppressive state prosecution instituted during the first eight years of his administration was that of Stockdale, which is to be attributed, not to the government but to the chiefs of the opposition. In office, Pitt had redeemed the pledges which he had, at his entrance into public life, given to the supporters of parliamentary reform. He had, in 1785, brought forward a judicious plan for the improvement of the representative system, and had prevailed on the King, not only to refrain from talking against that plan, but to recommend it to the Houses in a speech from the throne.* This attempt failed: but there can be little doubt that, if the French Revolution had not produced a violent reaction of public feeling, Pitt would have performed, with little difficulty and no danger, that great work which, at a later period, Lord Grey could accomplish only by means which for a time loosened the very foundations of the commonwealth. When the atrocities of the slave trade were first brought under the consideration of Parliament, no abolitionist was more zealous than Pitt. When sickness prevented Wilberforce from appearing in public, his place was most efficiently supplied by his friend the minister. A humane bill, which mitigated the horrors of the middle passage, was, in 1788, carried by the eloquence and determined spirit of Pitt, in spite of the opposition of some of his own colleagues; and it ought always to be remembered to his honour that, in order to carry that bill, he kept the Houses sitting, in spite of many murmurs, long after the business of the government had been done, and the Appropriation Act passed. In 1791 he cordially concurred with Fox in maintaining the sound constitutional doctrine, that an impeachment is not terminated by a dissolution.

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* The speech with which the King opened the session of 1785 concluded with an assurance that His Majesty would heartily concur in every measure which could tend to secure the true principles of the constitution. These words were at the time understood to refer to Pitt's Reform Bill.

In the course of the same year the two great rivals contended side by side in a far more important cause. They are fairly entitled to divide the high honour of having added to our statute-book the inestimable law which places the liberty of the press under the protection of juries. On one occasion, and one alone, Pitt, during the first half of his long administration, acted in a manner unworthy of an enlightened Whig. In the debate on the Test Act, he stooped to gratify the master whom he served, the university which he represented, and the great body of clergymen and country gentlemen on whose support he rested, by talking, with little heartiness, indeed, and with no asperity, the language of a Tory. With this single exception, his conduct from the end of 1783 to the middle of 1792 was that of an honest friend of civil and religious liberty.

Nor did anything, during that period, indicate that he loved war, or harboured any malevolent feeling against any neighbouring nation. Those French writers who have represented him as a Hannibal sworn in childhood by his father to bear eternal hatred to France, as having, by mysterious intrigues and lavish bribes, instigated the disleading Jacobins to commit those excesses which dishonoured the Revolution, as having been the real author of the first coalition, know nothing of his character or of his history. So far was he from being a deadly enemy to France, that his laudable attempts to bring about a closer connection with that country by means of a wise and liberal treaty of commerce brought on him the severe censure of the opposition. He was told in the House of Commons that he was a degenerate son, and that his partiality for the hereditary foes of our island was enough to make his great father's bones stir under the pavement of the Abbey.

And this man, whose name, if he had been so fortunate as to die in 1792, would now have been associated with peace, with freedom, with philanthropy, with temperate reform, with mild and constitutional administration, lived to associate his name with arbitrary government, with harsh laws harshly executed, with alien bills, with gagging bills, with suspensions of the Habeas Corpus Act, with cruel punishments inflicted on some political agitators, with unjustifiable prosecutions instituted against others, and with the most costly and most sanguinary wars of modern times. He lived to be held up to obloquy as the stern oppressor of England, and the indefatigable disturber of Europe. Poets, contrasting his earlier with his later years, likened him sometimes to the apostle who kissed in order to betray, and sometimes to the evil angels who kept not their first estate. A satirist of great genius introduced the fiends of Famine, Slaughter, and Fire, proclaiming that they had received their commission from One whose name was formed of four letters, and promising to give their employer ample proofs of gratitude. Famine would gnaw the multitude till they should rise up against him in madness. The demon of Slaughter would impel them to tear him from limb to limb. But Fire boasted that she alone could reward him as he deserved, and that she would cling round him to all eternity. By the French press and the French tribune every crime that disgraced and every calamity that afflicted France was ascribed to the monster Pitt and his guineas. While the Jacobins were dominant, it was he who had corrupted the Gironde, who had raised Lyons and Bordeaux against the Convention, who had suborned Paris to assassinate Lepelletier, and Cecilia Regnault to assassinate Robespierre. When the Thermidorian reaction came, all the atrocities of the Reign of Terror were imputed to him. Collot D'Herbois and Fouquier Thinville had been his pensioners. It was he who had hired the murderers of September, who had dictated the pamphlets of Marat and the Carmagnoles of Barrere, who had paid Lebon to deluge Arras with blood, and Carrier to choke the Loire with corpses.

The truth is, that he liked neither war nor arbitrary government. He was a lover of peace and freedom, driven, by a stress against which it was hardly possible for any will or any intellect to struggle, out of the course to which his inclinations pointed, and for which his abilities and acquirements fitted him, and forced into a policy repugnant to his feelings and unsuited to his talents.

The charge of apostasy is grossly unjust. A man ought no more to be called an apostate because his opinions alter with the opinions of the great body of his contemporaries than he ought to be called an oriental traveller because he is always going round from west to east with the globe and everything that is upon it. Between the spring of 1789 and the close of 1792, the public mind of England underwent a great change. If the change of Pitt's sentiments attracted peculiar notice, it was not because he changed more than his neighbours; for in fact he changed less than most of them; but because his position was far more conspicuous than theirs, because he was, till Bonaparte appeared, the individual who filled the greatest space in the eyes of the inhabitants of the civilized world. During a short time the nation, and Pitt, as one of the nation, looked with interest and approbation on the French Revolution. But soon vast confiscations, the violent sweeping away of ancient institutions, the domination of clubs, the barbarities of mobs maddened by famine and hatred, produced a reaction here. The court, the nobility, the gentry, the clergy, the manufacturers, the merchants, in short, nineteen twentieths of those who had good roofs over their heads and good coats on their backs, became eager and intolerant Antijacobins. This feeling was at least as strong among the minister's adversaries as among his supporters. Fox in vain attempted to restrain his followers. All his genius, all his vast personal influence, could not prevent them from rising up against him in general mutiny. Burke set the example of revolt; and Burke was in no long time joined by Portland, Spencer, Fitzwilliam, Loughborogh Carlisle, Malmesbury, Windham, Elliot. In the house of Commons, the followers of the great Whig statesman and orator diminished from about a hundred and sixty to fifty. In the

House of Lords he had but ten or twelve adherents left. There can be no doubt that there would have been a similar mutiny on the ministerial benches, if Pitt had obstinately resisted the general wish. Pressed at once by his master and by his colleagues, by old friends and by old opponents, he abandoned, slowly and reluctantly, the policy which was dear to his heart. He laboured hard to avert the European war. When the European war broke out, he still flattered himself that it would not be necessary for this country to take either side. In the spring of 1792 he congratulated the Parliament on the prospect of long and profound peace, and proved his sincerity by proposing large remissions of taxation. Down to the end of that year he continued to cherish the hope that England might be able to preserve neutrality. But the passions which raged on both sides of the Channel were not to be restrained. The republicans who ruled France were inflamed by a fanaticism resembling that of the Mussulmans, who, with the Koran in one hand and the sword in the other, went forth, conquering and converting, eastward, to the Bay of Bengal, and westward to the Pillars of Hercules. The higher and middle classes of England were animated by zeal not less fiery than that of the Crusaders who raised the cry of *Deus vult* at Clermont. The impulse which drove the two nations to a collision was not to be arrested by the abilities or by the authority of any single man. As Pitt was in front of his fellows, and towered high above them, he seemed to lead them. But in fact he was violently pushed on by them, and, had he held back but a little more than he did, would have been thrust out of their way or trampled under their feet.

He yielded to the current: and from that day his misfortunes began. The truth is that there were only two consistent courses before him. Since he did not choose to oppose himself, side by side with Fox, to the public feeling, he should have taken the advice of Burke, and should have availed himself of that feeling to the full extent. If it was impossible to preserve peace, he should have adopted the only policy which could lead to victory. He should have proclaimed a Holy War for religion, morality, property, order, public law, and should have thus opposed to the Jacobins an energy equal to their own. Unhappily he tried to find a middle path; and he found one which united all that was worst in both extremes. He went to war: but he would not understand the peculiar character of that war. He was obstinately blind to the plain fact, that he was contending against a state which was also a sect, and that the new quarrel between England and France was of quite a different kind from the old quarrels about colonies in America and fortresses in the Netherlands. He had to combat frantic enthusiasm, boundless ambition, restless activity, the wldest and most audacious spirit of innovation; and he acted as if he had had to deal with the harlots and fops of the old Court of Versailles, with Madame De Pompadour and the Abbé de Bernis. It was pitiable to hear him, year af year, proving to an admiring audience that the wicked Republic was exhausted, that she could not hold out, that her credit was gone, that her assignats were not worth more than the paper of which they were made; as if credit was necessary to a government of which the principle was rapine, as if Alboin could not turn Italy into a desert till he had negotiated a loan at five per cent., as if the exchequer bills of Attila had been at par. It was impossible that a man who so completely mistook the nature of a contest could carry on that contest successfully. Great as Pitt's abilities were, his military administration was that of a driveller. He was at the head of a nation engaged in a struggle for life and death, of a nation eminently distinguished by all the physical and all the moral qualities which make excellent soldiers. The resources at his command were unlimited. The Parliament was even more ready to grant him men and money than he was to ask for them. In such an emergency, and with such means, such a statesman as Richelieu, as Louvois, as Chatham, as Wellesley, would have created in a few months one of the finest armies in the world, and would soon have discovered and brought forward generals worthy to command such an army. Germany might have been saved by another Blenheim; Flanders recovered by another Ramilies; another Poitiers might have delivered the Royalist and Catholic provinces of France from a yoke which they abhorred, and might have spread terror even to the barriers of Paris. But the fact is, that, after eight years of war, after a vast destruction of life, after an expenditure of wealth far exceeding the expenditure of the American war, of the Seven Years' War, of the war of the Austrian Succession, and of the war of the Spanish Succession united, the English army, under Pitt, was the laughing-stock of all Europe. It could not boast of one single brilliant exploit. It had never shown itself on the Continent but to be beaten, chased, forced to re-embark, or forced to capitulate. To take some sugar island in the West Indies, to scatter some mob of half naked Irish peasants, such were the most splendid victories won by the British troops under Pitt's auspices. +

The English navy no mismanagement could ruin. But during a long period whatever mismanagement could do was done. The Earl of Chatham, without a single qualification for high public trust, was made, by a fraternal partiality, First Lord of the Admiralty, and was kept in that great post during two years of a war in which the very existence of the state depended on the efficiency of the fleet. He continued to doze away and trifle away the time which ought to have been devoted to the public service, till the whole mercantile body, though generally disposed to support the government, complained bitterly that our flag gave no protection to our trade. Fortunately he was succeeded by George Earl Spencer, one of those chiefs of the Whig party who, in the great schism caused by the French Revolution, had followed Burke. Lord Spencer, though inferior to many of his colleagues as an orator, was decidedly the best administrator among them. To him it was owing that a long and gloomy succession of days of fasting, and, most emphatically, of humiliation, was interrupted, twice in the short space of eleven months, by days of thanksgiving for great victories.

It may seem paradoxical to say that the incapacity which Pitt showed in all that related to the conduct of the war is, in some sense, the most decisive proof that he was a man of very extraordinary abilities. Yet this is the simple truth. For assuredly one-tenth part of his errors and disasters would have been fatal to the power and influence of any minister who had not possessed, in the highest degree, the talents of a parliamentary leader. While his schemes were confounded, while his predictions were falsified, while the coalitions which he had laboured to form were falling to pieces, while the expeditions which he had sent forth at enormous cost were ending in rout and disgrace, while the enemy against whom he was feebly contending was subjugating Flanders and Brabant, the Electorate of Mentz and the Electorate of Treves, Holland, Piedmont, Liguria, Lombardy, his authority over the House of Commons was constantly becoming more and more absolute. There was his empire. There were his victories, his Lodi and his Arcola, his Rivoli and his Marengo. If some great misfortune, a pitched battle lost by the allies, the annexation of a new department to the French Republic, a sanguinary insurrection in Ireland, a mutiny in the fleet, a panic in the city, a run on the bank, had spread dismay through the ranks of his majority, that dismay lasted only till he rose from the Treasury bench, drew up his haughty head, stretched his arm with commanding gesture, and poured forth, in deep and sonorous tones, the lofty language of inextinguishable hope and inflexible resolution. Thus, through a long and calamitous period, every disaster that happened without the walls of Parliament was regularly followed by a triumph within them. At length he had no longer an opposition to encounter. Of the great party which had contended against him during the first eight years of his administration more than one half now marched under his standard, with his old competitor the Duke of Portland at their head ; and the rest had, after many vain struggles, quitted the field in despair. Fox had retired to the shades of St. Anne's Hill, and had there found, in the society of friends whom no vicissitude could estrange from him, of a woman whom he tenderly loved, and of the illustrious dead of Athens, of Rome, and of Florence, ample compensation for all the misfortunes of his public life. Session followed session with scarcely a single division. In the eventful year 1799, the largest minority that could be mustered against the government was twenty-five.

In Pitt's domestic policy there was at this time assuredly no want of vigour. While he offered to French Jacobinism a resistance so feeble that it only encouraged the evil which he wished to suppress, he put down English Jacobinism with a strong hand. The Habeas Corpus Act was repeatedly suspended. Public meetings were placed under severe restraints. The government obtained from Parliament power to send out of the country aliens who were suspected of evil designs ; and that power was not suffered to be idle. Writers who propounded doctrines adverse to monarchy and aristocracy were proscribed and punished without mercy. It was hardly safe for a republican to avow his political creed over his beefsteak and his bottle of port at a chop-house. The old laws of Scotland against sedition, laws which were considered by Englishmen as barbarous, and which a succession of governments had suffered to rust, were now furbished up and sharpened anew. Men of cultivated minds and polished manners were, for offences which at Westminster would have been treated as mere misdemeanours, sent to herd with felons at Botany Bay. Some reformers, whose opinions were extravagant, and whose language was intemperate, but who had never dreamed of subverting the Government by physical force, were indicted for high treason, and were saved from the gallows only by the righteous verdicts of juries. This severity was at the time loudly applauded by alarmists whom fear had made cruel, but will be seen in a very different light by posterity. The truth is, that the Englishmen who wished for a revolution were, even in number, not formidable, and, in everything but number, a faction utterly contemptible, without arms, or funds, or plans, or organisation, or leader. There can be no doubt that Pitt, strong as he was in the support of the great body of the nation, might easily have repressed the turbulence of the discontented minority by firmly yet temperately enforcing the ordinary law. Whatever vigour he showed during this unfortunate part of his life was vigour out of place and season. He was all feebleness and languor in his conflict with the foreign enemy who was really to be dreaded, and reserved all his energy and resolution for the domestic enemy who might safely have been despised.

One part only of Pitt's conduct during the last eight years of the eighteenth century deserves high praise. He was the first English minister who formed great designs for the benefit of Ireland. The manner in which the Roman Catholic population of that unfortunate country had been kept down during many generations seemed to him unjust and cruel; and it was scarcely possible for a man of his abilities not to perceive that, in a contest against the Jacobins, the Roman Catholics were his natural allies. Had he been able to do all that he wished, it is probable that a wise and liberal policy would have averted the rebellion of 1798. But the difficulties which he encountered were great, perhaps insurmountable; and the Roman Catholics were, rather by his misfortune than by his fault, thrown into the hands of the Jacobins. There was a third great rising of the Irishry against the Englishry, a rising not less formidable than the risings of 1641 and 1689. The Englishry remained victorious; and it was necessary for Pitt, as it had been necessary for Oliver Cromwell and William of Orange before him, to consider how the victory should be used. It is only just to his memory to say that he formed a scheme of policy, so grand and so simple, so righteous and so humane, that it would alone entitle him to a high place among statesmen. He determined to make Ireland one kingdom with England, and, at the same time, to relieve the Roman Catholic laity, from civil disabilities and to grant a public maintenance to the Roman Catholic clergy. Had he been able to carry these noble designs into effect,the Union would have been a Union indeed. It would have been inseparably associated in the minds of the great majority of Irishmen with civil and religious freedom; and the old Parliament in College Green would have been regretted only by a small knot of discarded jobbers and oppressors, and would have been remembered by the body of the nation with the loathing and contempt due to the most tyrannical and the most corrupt assembly that had ever sate in Europe. But Pitt could execute only one half of what he had projected. He succeeded in obtaining the consent of the Parliaments of both kingdoms to the Union: but that reconciliation of races and sects, without which the Union could exist only in name, was not accomplished. He was well aware that he was likely to find difficulties in the closet. But he flattered himself that, by cautious and dexterous management, those difficulties might be overcome. Unhappily, there were traitors and sycophants in high place who did not suffer him to take his own time and his own way, but prematurely disclosed his scheme to the king, and disclosed it in the manner most likely to irritate and alarm a weak and diseased mind. His Majesty absurdly imagined that his coronation oath bound him to refuse his assent to any bill for relieving Roman Catholics from civil disabilities. To argue with him was impossible. Dundas tried to explain the matter, but was told to keep his Scotch metaphysics to himself. Pitt, and Pitt's ablest colleagues, resigned their offices. It was necessary that the King should make a new arrangement. But by this time his anger and distress had brought back the malady which had, many years before, incapacitated him for the discharge of his functions. He actually assembled his family, read the Coronation oath to them, and told them that, if he broke it, the Crown would immediately pass to the House of Savoy. It was not until after an interregnum of several weeks that he regained the full use of his small faculties, and that a ministry after his own heart was at length formed.

The materials out of which he had to construct a government were neither solid nor splendid. To that party, weak in numbers, but strong in every kind of talent, which was hostile to the domestic and foreign policy of his late advisers, he could not have recourse. For that party, while it differed from his late advisers on every point on which they had been honoured with his approbation, cordially agreed with them as to the single matter which had brought on them his displeasure. All that was left to him was to call up the rear ranks of the old ministry to form the front rank of a new ministry. In an age pre-eminently fruitful of parliamentary talents, a cabinet was formed containing hardly a single man who, in parliamentary talents, could be considered as even of the second rate. The most important offices in the state were bestowed on decorous and laborious mediocrity. Henry Addington was at the head of the Treasury. He had been an early, indeed a hereditary, friend of Pitt, and had by Pitt's influence been placed, while still a young man, in the chair of the House of Commons. He was universally admitted to have been the best speaker that had sate in that chair since the retirement of Onslow. But nature had not bestowed on him very vigorous faculties; and the highly respectable situation which he had long occupied with honour had rather unfitted than fitted him for the discharge of his new duties. His business had been to bear himself evenly between contending factions. He had taken no part in the war of words; and he had always been addressed with marked deference by the great orators who thundered against each other from his right and from his left. It was not strange that when, for the first time, he had to encounter keen and vigorous antagonists, who dealt hard blows without the smallest ceremony, he should have been awkward and unready, or that the air of dignity and authority which he had acquired in his former post, and of which he had not divested himself, should have made his helplessness laughable and pitiable. Nevertheless, during many months, his power seemed to stand firm. He was a favourite with the King, whom he resembled in narrowness of mind, and to whom he was more obsequious than Pitt had ever been. The nation was put into high good homour by a peace with France. The enthusiasm with which the upper and middle classes had rushed into the war had spent itself. Jacobinism was no longer formidable. Everywhere there was a strong reaction against what was called the atheistical and anarchical philosophy of the eighteenth century. Bonaparte, now First Consul, was busied in constructing out of the ruins of the old institutions a new ecclesiastical establishment and a new order of knighthood. That nothing less than the dominion of the whole civilised world would satisfy his selfish ambition was not yet suspected; nor did even wise men see any reason to doubt that he might be as safe a neighbour as any prince of the House of Bourbon had been. The treaty of Amiens was therefore hailed by the great body of the English people with extravagant joy. The popularity of the minister was for the moment immense. His want of parliamentary ability was, as yet, of little consequence: for he had scarcely any adversary to encounter. The old opposition, delighted by the peace, regarded him with favour. A new opposition, had indeed been formed by some of the late ministers, and was led by Grenville in the House of Lords, and by Windham in the House of Commons. But the new opposition could scarcely muster ten votes, and was regarded with no favour by the country. On Pitt the ministers relied as on their firmest support. He had not, like some of his colleagues, retired in anger. He had expressed the greatest respect for the conscientious scruple which had taken possession of the royal mind; and he had promised his successors all the help in his power. In private his advice was at their service. In Parliament he took his seat on the bench behind them; and, in more than one debate, defended them with powers far superior to their own. The King perfectly understood the value of such assistance. On one occasion, at the palace, he took the old minister and the new minister aside. "If we three," he said, "keep together, all will go well."

But it was hardly possible, human nature being what it is, and, more especially, Pitt and Addington being what they were, that this union should be durable. Pitt conscious of superior powers, imagined that the place which he had quitted was now occupied by a mere puppet which he had set up, which he was to govern while he suffered it to remain, and which he was to fling aside as soon as he wished to resume his old position. Nor was it long before he began to pine for the power which he had relinquished. He had been so early raised to supreme authority in the state, and had enjoyed that authority so long, that it had become necessary to him. In retirement his days passed heavily. He could not, like Fox, forget the pleasures and cares of ambition in the company of Euripides or Herodotus. Pride restrained him from intimating, even to his dearest friends, that he wished to be again minister. But he thought it strange, almost ungrateful, that his wish had not been divined, that it had not been anticipated, by one whom he regarded as his deputy.

Addington, on the other hand, was by no means inclined to descend from his high position. He was, indeed, under a delusion much resembling that of Abou Hassan in the Arabian tale. His brain was turned by his short and unreal Caliphate. He took his elevation quite seriously, attributed it to his own merit, and considered himself as one of the great triumvirate of English statesmen, as worthy to make a third with Pitt and Fox.

Such being the feelings of the late minister and of the present minister, a rupture was inevitable ; and there was no want of persons bent on making that rupture speedy and violent. Some of these persons wounded Addington's pride by representing him as a lacquey, sent to keep a place on the Treasury bench till his master should find it convenient to come. Others took every opportunity of praising him at Pitt's expense. Pitt had waged a long, a bloody, a costly, an unsuccessful war. Addington had made peace. Pitt had suspended the constitutional liberties of Englishmen. Under Addington those liberties were again enjoyed. Pitt had wasted the public resources. Addington was carefully nursing them. It was sometimes but too evident that these compliments were not unpleasing to Addington. Pitt became cold and reserved. During many months he remained at a distance from London. Meanwhile his most intimate friends, in spite of his declarations that he made no complaint, and that he had no wish for office, exerted themselves to effect a change of ministry. His favourite disciple, George Canning, young, ardent, ambitious, with great powers and great virtues, but with a temper too restless and a wit too satirical for his own happiness, was indefatigable. He spoke ; he wrote ; he intrigued ; he tried to induce a large number of the supporters of the government to sign a round robin desiring a change ; he made game of Addington and of Addington's relations in a succession of lively pasquinades. The minister's partisans retorted with equal acrimony, if not with equal vivacity. Pitt could keep out of the affray only by keeping out of politics altogether ; and this it soon became impossible for him to do. Had Napoleon, content with the first place among the sovereigns of the Continent, and with a military reputation surpassing that of Marlborough or of Turenne, devoted himself to the noble task of making France happy by mild administration and wise legislation, our country might have long continued to tolerate a government of fair intentions and feeble abilities. Unhappily, the treaty of Amiens had scarcely been signed, when the restless ambition and the insupportable insolence of the First Consul convinced the great body of the English people that the peace, so eagerly welcomed, was only a precarious armistice. As it became clearer and clearer that a war for the dignity, the independence, the very existence of the nation was at hand, men looked with increasing uneasiness on the weak and languid cabinet which would have to contend against an enemy who united more than the power of Lewis the Great to more than the genius of Frederick the Great. It is true that Addington might easily have been a better war minister than Pitt, and could not possibly have been a worse. But Pitt had cast a spell on the public mind. The eloquence, the judgment, the calm and disdainful firmness which he had, during many years, displayed in Parliament, deluded the world into the belief that he must be eminently qualified to superintend every department of politics; and they imagined, even after the miserable failures of Dunkirk, of Quiberon, and of the Helder, that he was the only statesman who could cope with Bonaparte. This feeling was nowhere stronger than among Addington's own colleagues. The pressure put on him was so strong, that he could not help yielding to it; yet, even in yielding, he showed how far he was from knowing his own place. His first proposition was, that some insignificant nobleman should be First Lord of the Treasury and nominal head of the administration, and that the real power should be divided between Pitt and himself, who were to be secretaries of state. Pitt, as might have been expected, refused even to discuss such a scheme, and talked of it with bitter mirth. "Which secretaryship was offered to you?" his friend Wilberforce asked. "Really," said Pitt, "I had not the curiosity to inquire." Addington was frightened into bidding higher. He offered to resign the Treasury to Pitt on condition that there should be no extensive change in the government. But Pitt would listen to no such terms. Then came a dispute such as often arises after negotiations orally conducted, even when the negotiators are men of strict honour. Pitt gave one account of what had passed; Addington gave another; and though the discrepancies were not such as necessarily implied any intentional violation of truth on either side, both were greatly exasperated.

Meanwhile the quarrel with the First Consul had come to a crisis. On the 16th of May 1803, the King sent a message calling on the House of Commons to support him in withstanding the ambitious and encroaching policy of France; and on the 22nd, the House took the message into consideration.

Pitt had now been living many months in retirement. There had been a general election since he had spoken in Parliament, and there were two hundred members who had never heard him. It was known that on this occasion he would be in his place, and curiosity was wound up to the highest point. Unfortunately, the short-hand writers were, in consequence of some mistake, shut out on that day from the gallery, so that the newspapers contained only a very meagre report of the proceedings. But several accounts of what passed are extant; and of those accounts the most interesting is contained in an unpublished letter written by a very young member, John William Ward, afterwards Earl of Dudley. When Pitt rose, he was received with loud cheering. At every pause in his speech there was a burst of applause. The peroration is said to have been one of the most animated and magnificent ever heard in Parliament. "Pitt's speech," Fox wrote a few days later, "was admired very much, and very justly. I think it was the best he ever made in that style." The debate was adjourned; and on the second night Fox replied in an oration which, as the most zealous Pittites were forced to acknowledge, left the palm of eloquence doubtful. Addington made a pitiable appearance between the two great rivals; and it was observed that Pitt, while exhorting the Commons to stand resolutely by the executive government against France, said not a word indicating esteem or friendship for the prime minister.

War was speedily declared. The First Consul threatened to invade England at the head of the conquerors of Belgium and Italy, and formed a great camp near the Straits of Dover. On the other side of those Straits the whole population of our island was ready to rise up as one man in defence of the soil. At this conjuncture, as at some other great conjunctures in our history, the conjuncture of 1660, for example, and the conjuncture of 1688, there was a general disposition among honest and patriotic men to forget old quarrels, and to regard as a friend every person who was ready, in the existing emergency, to do his part towards the saving of the state. A coalition of all the first men in the country would, at that moment, have been as popular as the coalition of 1783 had been unpopular. Alone in the kingdom the King looked with perfect complacency on a cabinet in which no man superior to himself in genius was to be found, and was so far from being willing to admit all his ablest subjects to office that he was bent on excluding them all.

A few months passed before the different parties which agreed in regarding the government with dislike and contempt came to an understanding with each other. But in the spring of 1804 it became evident that the weakest of ministries would have to defend itself against the strongest of oppopositions, an opposition made up of three oppositions, each of which would, separately, have been formidable from ability, and which, when united, were also formidable from number. The party which had opposed the peace, headed by Grenville and Windham, and the party which had opposed the renewal of the war, headed by Fox, concurred in thinking that the men now in power were incapable of either making a good peace or waging a vigorous war. Pitt had, in 1802, spoken for peace against the party of Grenville, and had, in 1803, spoken for war against the party of Fox. But of the capacity of the cabinet, and especially of its chief, for the conduct of great affairs, he thought as meanly as either Fox or Grenville. Questions were easily found on which all the enemies of the government could act cordially together. The unfortunate First Lord of the Treasury, who had, during the earlier months of his administration, been supported by Pitt on one side, and by Fox on the other, now had to answer Pitt, and to be answered by Fox. Two sharp debates, followed by close divisions, made him weary of his post. It was known, too, that the Upper House was even more hostile to him than the Lower, that the Scotch representative peers wavered, that there were signs of mutiny among the Bishops. In the cabinet itself there was discord, and, worse than discord, treachery. It was necessary to give way: the ministry was dissolved; and the task of forming a government was entrusted to Pitt.

Pitt was of opinion that there was now an opportunity, such as had never before offered itself, and such as might never offer itself again, of uniting in the public service, on honourable terms, all the eminent talents of the kingdom. The passions to which the French Revolution had given birth were extinct. The madness of the innovator and the madness of the alarmist alike had their day. Jacobinism and Anti-jacobinism had gone out of fashion together. The most liberal statesman did not think that season propitious for schemes of parliamentary reform; and the most conservative statesman could not pretend that there was any occasion for gagging bills and suspensions of the Habeas Corpus Act. The great struggle for independence and national honour occupied all minds; and those who were agreed as to the duty of maintaining that struggle with vigour might well postpone to a more convenient time all disputes about matters comparatively unimportant.

Strongly impressed by these considerations, Pitt wished to form a ministry including all the first men in the country. The Treasury he reserved for himself; and to Fox he proposed to assign a share of power little inferior to his own.

The plan was excellent: but the King would not hear of it. Dull, obstinate, unforgiving, and, at that time, half mad, he positively refused to admit Fox into his service. Anybody else, even men who had gone as far as Fox, or further than Fox, in what His Majesty considered as Jacobinism, Sheridan, Grey, Erskine, should be graciously received; but Fox never. During several hours Pitt laboured in vain to reason down this senseless antipathy. That he was perfectly sincere there can be no doubt; but it was not enough to be sincere; he should have been resolute. Had he declared himself determined not to take office without Fox, the royal obstinacy would have given way, as it gave way a few months later, when opposed to the immutable resolution of Lord Grenville. In an evil hour Pitt yielded. He flattered himself with the hope that, though he consented to forego the aid of his illustrious rival, there would still remain ample materials for the formation of an efficient ministry. That hope was cruelly disappointed. Fox entreated his friends to leave personal considerations out of the question, and declared that he would support with the utmost cordiality, an efficient and patriotic ministry from which he should be himself excluded. Not only his friends, however, but Grenville and Grenville's adherents, answered with one voice, that the question was not personal, that a great constitutional principle was at stake, and that they would not take office while a man eminently qualified to render service to the commonwealth was placed under a ban merely because he was disliked at Court. All that was left to Pitt was to construct a government out of the wreck of Addington's feeble administration. The small circle of his personal retainers furnished him with a very few useful assistants, particularly Dundas, who had been created Viscount Melville, Lord Harrowby, and Canning.

Such was the inauspicious manner in which Pitt entered on his second administration. The whole history of that administration was of a piece with the commencement. Almost every month brought some new disaster or disgrace. To the war with France was soon added a war with Spain. The opponents of the minister were numerous, able, and active. His most useful coadjutors he soon lost. Sickness deprived him of the help of Lord Harrowby. It was discovered that Lord Melville had been guilty of highly culpable laxity in transactions relating to public money. He was censured by the House of Commons, driven from office, ejected from the Privy Council, and impeached of high crimes and misdemeanours. The blow fell heavy on Pitt. It gave him, he said in Parliament, a deep pang; and, as he uttered the word pang, his lip quivered; his voice shook; he paused; and his hearers thought that he was about to burst into tears. Such tears shed by Eldon would have moved nothing but laughter. Shed by the warm-hearted and open-hearted Fox, they would have moved sympathy, but would have caused no surprise. But a tear from Pitt would have been something portentous. He suppressed his emotion, however, and proceeded with his usual majestic self-possession.

His difficulties compelled him to resort to various expedients. At one time Addington was persuaded to accept office with a peerage; but he brought no additional strength to the government. Though he went through the form of reconciliation it was impossible for him to forget the past. While he remained in place he was jealous and punctilious; and he soon retired again. At another time Pitt renewed his efforts to overcome his master's aversion to Fox; and it was rumoured that the King's obstinacy was gradually giving way. But, meanwhile, it was impossible for the minister to conceal from the public eye the decay of his health and the constant anxiety which gnawed at his heart. His sleep was broken. His food ceased to nourish him. All who passed him in the Park, all who had interviews with him in Downing Street, saw misery written in his face. The peculiar look which he wore during the last months of his life was often pathetically described by Wilberforce, who used to call it the Austerlitz look.

Still the vigour of Pitt's intellectual faculties, and the intrepid haughtiness of his spirit, remained unaltered. He had staked everything on a great venture. He had succeeded in forming another mighty coalition against the French ascendancy. The united forces of Austria, Russia, and England might, he hoped, oppose an insurmountable barrier to the ambition of the common enemy. But the genius and energy of Napoleon prevailed. While the English troops were preparing to embark for Germany, while the Russian troops were slowly coming up from Poland, he, with rapidity unprecedented in modern war, moved a hundred thousand men from the shores of the Ocean to the Black Forest and compelled a great Austrian army to surrender at Ulm. To the first faint rumours of this calamity Pitt would give no credit. He was irritated by the alarms of those around him. "Do not believe a word of it," he said: "it is all a fiction." The next day he received a Dutch newspaper containing the capitulation. He knew no Dutch. It was Sunday; and the public offices were shut. He carried the paper to Lord Malmesbury, who had been minister in Holland; and Lord Malmesbury translated it. Pitt tried to bear up; but the shock was too great; and he went away with death in his face.

The news of the battle of Trafalgar arrived four days later, and seemed for a moment to revive him. Forty-eight hours after that most glorious and most mournful of victories had been announced to the country came the Lord Mayor's day; and Pitt dined at Guildhall. His popularity had declined. But on this occasion, the multitude, greatly excited by the recent tidings, welcomed him enthusiastically, took off his horses in Cheapside, and drew his carriage up King Street. When his health was drunk, he returned thanks in two or three of those stately sentences of which he had a boundless command. Several of those who heard him laid up his words in their hearts; for they were the last words that he ever uttered in pubiic: "Let us hope that England, having saved herself by her energy, may save Europe by her example."

This was but a momentary rally. Austerlitz soon completed what Ulm had begun. Early in December Pitt had retired to Bath, in the hope that he might there gather strength for the approaching session. While he was languishing there on his sofa arrived the news that a decisive battle had been fought and lost in Moravia, that the coalition was dissolved, that the Continent was at the feet of France. He sank down under the blow. Ten days later, he was so emaciated that his most intimate friends hardly knew him. He came up from Bath by slow journeys, and, on the 11th of January 1806, reached his villa at Putney. Parliament was to meet on the 21st. On the 20th was to be the parliamentary dinner at the house of the First Lord of the Treasury in Downing Street; and the cards were already issued. But the days of the great minister were numbered. The only chance for his life, and that a very slight chance, was, that he should resign his office, and pass some months in profound repose. His colleagues paid him very short visits, and carefully avoided political conversation. But his spirit, long accustomed to dominion, could not, even in that extremity, relinquish hopes which everybody but himself perceived to be vain. On the day on which he was carried into his bedroom at Putney, the Marquess Wellesley, whom he had long loved, whom he had sent to govern India, and whose administration had been eminently able, energetic, and successful, arrived in London after an absence of eight years. The friends saw each other once more. There was an affectionate meeting, and a last parting. That it was a last parting Pitt did not seem to be aware. He fancied himself to be recovering, talked on various subjects cheerfully and with an unclouded mind, and pronounced a warm and discerning eulogium on the Marquess's brother Arthur. " I never, he said, " met with any military man with whom it was so satisfactory to converse." The excitement and exertion of this interview were too much for the sick man. He fainted away; and Lord Wellesley left the house, convinced that the close was fast approaching.

And now members of Parliament were fast coming up to London. The chiefs of the opposition met for the purpose of considering the course to be taken on the first day of the session. It was easy to guess what would be the language of the King's speech, and of the address which would be moved in answer to that speech. An amendment condemning the policy of the government had been prepared, and was to have been proposed in the House of Commons by Lord Henry Petty, a young nobleman who had already won for himself that place in the esteem of his country which, after the lapse of more than half a century, he still retains. He was unwilling, however, to come forward as the accuser of one who was incapable of defending himself. Lord Grenville, who had been informed of Pitt's state by Lord Wellesley, and had been deeply affected by it, earnestly recommended forbearance; and Fox, with characteristic generosity and good nature, gave his voice against attacking his now helpless rival. " Sunt lacrymæ rerum," he said, " et mentem mortalia tangunt." On the first day, therefore, there was no debate. It was rumoured that evening that Pitt was better. But on the following morning his physicians pronounced that there were no hopes. The commanding faculties of which he had been too proud were beginning to fail. His older tutor and friend, the Bishop of Lincoln, informed him of his danger, and gave such religious advice and consolation as a confused and obscured mind could receive. Stories were told of devout sentiments fervently uttered by the dying man. But these stories found no credit with anybody who knew him. Wilberforce pronounced it impossible that they could be true; " Pitt," he added, " was a man who always said less than he thought on such topics." It was asserted in many after-dinner speeches, Grub Street elegies, and academic prize poems and prize declamations, that the great minister died exclaiming, "O my country !" This is a fable ; but it is true that the last words which he uttered, while he knew what he said, were broken exclamations about the alarming state of public affairs. He ceased to breathe on the morning of the 23rd of January 1806, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the day on which he first took his seat in Parliament. He was in his forty-seventh pear, and had been, during near nineteen years, First Lord of the Treasury, and undisputed chief of the administration. Since parliamentary government was established in England, no English statesman has held supreme power so long. Walpole, it is true, was First Lord of the Treasury during more than twenty years, but it was not till Walpole had been some time First Lord of the Treasury that he could be properly called Prime Minister.

It was moved in the House of Commons that Pitt should be honoured with a public funeral and a monument. The motion was opposed by Fox in a speech which deserves to be studied as a model of good taste and good feeling. The task was the most invidious that ever an orator undertook; but it was performed with a humanity and delicacy which were warmly acknowledged by the mourning friends of him who was gone. The motion was carried by 258 votes to 89.

The 22nd of February was fixed for the funeral. The corpse having lain in state during two days in the Painted Chamber, was borne with great pomp to the northern transept of the Abbey. A splendid train of princes, nobles, bishops, and privy councillors followed. The grave of Pitt had been made near to the spot where his great father lay, near also to the spot where his great rival was soon to lie. The sadness of the assistants was beyond that of ordinary mourners. For he whom they were committing to the dust had died of sorrows and anxieties of which none of the survivors could be altogether without a share. Wilberforce, who carried the banner before the hearse, described the lawful ceremony with deep feeling. As the coffin descended into the earth, he said, the eagle face of Chatham from above seemed to look down with consternation into the dark house which was receiving all that remained of so much power and glory.

All parties in the house of Commons readily concurred in voting forty thousand pounds to satisfy the demands of Pitt's creditors. Some of his admirers seemed to consider the magnitude of his embarrassmeats as a circumstance highly honourable to him ; but men of sense will probably be of a different opinion. It is far better, no doubt, that a great minister should carry his contempt of money to excess than that he should contaminate his hands with unlawful gain. But it is neither right nor becoming in a man to whom the public has given an income more than sufficient for his comfort and dignity to bequeath to that public a great debt, the effect of mere negligence and profusion. As First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Pitt never had less than six thousand a year, besides an excellent house. In 1792 he was forced by his royal master's friendly importunity to accept for life the office of Warden of the Cinque Ports, with near four thousand a year more. He had neither wife nor child: he had no needy relations: he had no expensive tastes: he had no long election bills. Had he given but a quarter of an hour a week to the regulation of his household, he would have kept his expenditure within bounds. Or, if he could not spare even a quarter of an hour a week for that purpose, he had numerous friends, excellent men of business, who would have been proud to act as his stewards. One of those friends, the chief of a great commercial house in the city, made an attempt to put the establishment in Downing Street to rights ; but in vain. He found that the waste of the servant's hall was almost fabulous. The quantity of butcher's meat charged in the bills was nine hundredweight a week. The consumption of poultry, of fish, of tea, was in proportion. The character of Pitt would have stood higher if, with the disinterestedness of Pericles and of De Witt, he had united their dignified frugality.

The memory of Pitt has been assailed, times innumerable, often justly, often unjustly; but it has suffered much less from his assailants than from his eulogists. For, during many years, his name was the rallying cry of a class of men with whom, at one of those terrible conjunctures which confound all ordinary distinctions, he was accidentally and temporarily connected, but to whom, on almost all great questions of principle, he was diametrically opposed. The haters of parliamentary reform called themselves Pittites, not choosing to remember that Pitt made three motions for parliamentary reform, and that, though he thought that such a reform could not safely be made while the passions excited by the French Revolution were raging, he never uttered a word indicating that he should not be prepared at a more convenient season to bring the question forward a fourth time. The toast of Protestant ascendency was drunk on Pitt's birthday by a set of Pittites who could not but be aware that Pitt had resigned his office because he could not carry Catholic emancipation. The defenders of the Test Act called themselves Pittites, though they could not be ignorant that Pitt had laid before George the Third unanswerable reasons for abolishing the Test Act. The enemies of free trade called themselves Pittites, though Pitt was far more deeply imbued with the doctrines of Adam Smith than either Fox or Grey. The very Negro-drivers invoked the name of Pitt, whose eloquence was never more conspicuously displayed than when he spoke of the wrongs of the Negro. This mythical Pitt, who resembles the genuine Pitt, as little as the Charlemagne of Ariosto resembles the Charlemagne of Eginhard, has had his day. History will vindicate the real man from calumny disguised under the semblance of adulation, and will exhibit him as what he was, a minister of great talents, honest intentions, and liberal opinions, preeminently qualified, intellectually and morally, for the part of a parliamentary leader, and capable of administering with prudence and moderation the government of a prosperous and tranquil country, but unequal to surprising and terrible emergencies, and liable, in such emergencies to err grievously, both on the side of weakness and on the side of violence.

NOTES.

FRANCIS ATTERBURY.

Page 1. 5. *Westminster School.* The Royal School of St. Peter's, Westminster, one of the greatest public schools, founded in 1560.

6. *Christ Church.* The largest college of Oxford University, formerly Cardinal College, founded by Cardinal Wolsey in 1525. Its chapel is the cathedral church of Oxford.

6. *a stock of learning etc.* Atterbury had no great learning, but he made such good use of what he had that he appeared at first sight to be more learned than he really was.

Note the rhetorical, balanced period.

Atterbury was not always "judicious" in his "ostentation" of learning, as we shall see.

9. *parts.* Personal qualities and attainments.

12. *Absalom and Ahithophel.* A well-known poem by John Dryden (1631-1700), famous as a poet, dramatist, and literary critic, the literary Dictator of his age. It is a satire in two parts (the second of which is only partly by Dryden) in rhymed couplets. Under the veil of a story taken from the Bible (Second Book of Samuel) Dryden satirizes his political and literary enemies with merciless scorn.

Absalom represents the Duke of Monmouth, Ahithophel the Earl of Shaftesbury, David King Charles II., Corah Titus Oates, etc.

15. *Augustan age.* The Golden Age of Latin literature, so called from the Emperor Augustus, in whose reign it reached its zenith. The works of Vergil, Horace and Ovid in poetry, the orations of Cicero, the histories of Livy show the perfection of style and language which characterize this age.

Macaulay very moderately indicates the imperfection of Atterbury's Latin.

17. *many able men.* Such as Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Smalridge.

18. *James II.*, a Roman Catholic himself, endeavoured to bring Protestant England back to the faith of the Roman Catholic Church.

19. *calumniated etc.* (The Church of England) falsely accused by converts who had left the Church in the hopes of reward from James II. Macaulay doubtless refers to Dryden's poem, "The Hind and the Panther" (*i. e.* the Church of Rome and the Church of England). Dryden's "apostasy," however, seems to have been nevertheless a matter of conscience.

21. *Obadiah Walker* had declared himself a Roman Catholic convert and was authorized to retain his post, in defiance of the law, by James II. The King was then making a strenuous attempt to gain Oxford to Catholicism. He appointed Massey, a Roman Catholic, at the same time, to the Deanery of Christ Church, and later forced his Catholic nominee upon Magdalen College.

24. *established religion* is the State religion, the faith of the Church of England.

26. *Martin Luther* (1483-1546), the great German religious reformer, translator of the Bible, founder of the Lutheran Church and, together with Melanchthon and Calov, leader of the Protestant Reformation in Europe.

28-31. This may, in some measure, be said to be true of Macaulay himself.

Page 2. 1. *Papists.* Roman Catholics. The word has a contemptuous sense. (Ital. *Papa*, the Pope.)

2. *galled.* Irritated.

polemic. Controversialist, literally, fighter. (Gk. *polemos*, war.)

4. *by implication etc.* Indirectly, they implied that King James was a traitor. *Judas* Iscariot, one of the twelve apostles of Christ, betrayed his Master, and the name Judas has the proverbial sense of traitor.

5. *Revolution.* In 1688 William of Orange arrived in England, at the invitation of a large party of notable men. James II. fled and was deposed. William was elected joint-sovereign with his queen, Mary, under the title of William III.

6. *non-Resistance.* In 1665 the Five-mile Act, a test-act, declared that resistance of the Crown on any pretext whatever was unlawful, as well as any attempt at alteration in the government of Church and State. In 1765 it was re-introduced by Danby and rejected.

passive Obedience. A theory of monarchy formulated by James I. Obedience to the King, by virtue of his Divine Right, is a religious obligation. This theory was adopted by the Church in Convocation in 1606 and later by the University of Oxford, which declared that "It is in no case lawful for subjects to make use of force against their princes or to appear offensively or defensively in the field against them."

Both are negative theories, and there is little difficulty in reconciling Atterbury's position with his theories.

8. *took holy orders.* I. e. was ordained a priest of the Church.

13. *under-graduate.* A student who has matriculated but has not yet graduated.

14. *Dean Aldrich.* Dr. Henry Aldrich (1647-1710) entered Christ Church in 1662, took holy orders, was prominent in the religious controversy against James II. and was made Dean of Christ Church at the Revolution. He was, moreover, a notable musician, architect and classical scholar.

15. *divine.* One who teaches, or writes upon, divinity, *i. e.* theology.

catch. A round, a short doggerel song meant to be sung by two or more singers in turn, each "catching" the song up from the last. Here is an example of his "catches."

> "If on my theme I rightly think,
> There are five reasons why men drink:—
> Good wine; a friend; because I'm dry;
> Or lest I should be bye and bye;
> Or—any other reason why!"

17. *a Tory* is what is now generally called a Conservative in politics, a supporter of the power of King and Church, and generally of the traditional constitution of the State.

"Tory was a name properly belonging to Irish robbers who during our Civil War plundered professing to be in arms for the royal cause, and from them transferred, about 1680, to those who sought to maintain the extreme prerogative of the Crown." (Trench.) The opposing political party was known as the Whig party, which corresponds, roughly speaking, to the present Liberal party. These two parties, with modifications, have held the balance of parliamentary power in England until to-day.

high-churchman. A member of that section of the Anglican church, the High Church, which is most nearly akin to the Church of Rome in its doctrines and ritual.

23. *Charles Boyle* (1676-1731), Ist Lord Boyle, son of Roger, Earl of Orrery, chiefly known by his controversy with Bentley.

24. *Robert Boyle* (1627-1691), son of the 1st Earl of Cork, a notable scientist, the father of modern chemistry. His writings did much to arouse popular interest in experimental science.

36. *oration for Marcellus,* i. e. a speech supposed to be delivered in the law courts on behalf of Marcellus.

Tully. Cicero, whose full name was Marcus *Tullius* Cicero. Tully has long been used, as well as Cicero, though seldom now, to designate the great Roman lawyer, orator, and philosopher. His eloquence and perfection of style are proverbial.

Page 3. 3. *Letters.* This counterfeit furnished at this time the theme of a famous literary controversy, which arose out of the still more famous controversy of Ancient against Modern Literature.

4. *Phalaris.* The tyrant of Agrigentum in Sicily, in the 5th century B. C., a type of barbarous rudeness and cruelty, though in later days he came to be looked upon as a patriot of literature.

5. *internal.* Evidence from style and language.

6. *external.* Evidence from documents and historical considerations.

7. *fifteenth century etc.* At the Renaissance many classical authors became known for the first time, when Greek and Latin literature were the objects of enthusiastic study throughout Europe.

10. *Politian.* Angelo Poliziano (1454-1494), one of the greatest of the Humanists. A notable scholar and philologist, a poet, a graceful prose-writer, he became Professor of Greek and Latin at the University of Florence. The evidence of Politian is not very valuable, inasmuch as he pronounced the "Letters" to be the work of Lucian! They were probably a rhetorical exercise by some Sophist of the 2nd century A. D.

Erasmus. Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1530), of Dutch birth, a famous man of letters and classical scholar. Patronized by Henry VIII. he taught in English universities. He was a moderate Reformer and it has been said of him, "Erasmus laid the egg and Luther hatched it." His best-known works are "Adagia" and "Praise of Folly."

13. *Ramblers*. The "Rambler" was the title of a periodical in the manner of the "Spectator" and the "Tatler." It appeared twice weekly from March 1750 to March 1752, and was written practically entirely by Dr. Johnson.

14. *William Wallace*. A national hero of Early Scottish history, leader of the resistance to Edward I., defeated in the end, betrayed and executed at London in 1305.

16. *Attic*, i. e. Greek. Athens, the capital of Greece, is in the province of Attica. The dialect of Greek spoken there was called Attic, and became the predominant literary dialect cultivated both in the classical period and afterwards by the Neo-classic learned writers.

Julian the "Apostate" (331-363), Emperor of Rome in 361-3, a lover and a patron of learning and literature, and specially of Greek culture.

17. *Dorian*. i. e. Spartan, Phalaris was a Spartan and spoke the Doric dialect (the Spartans were of Dorian race) which has proverbially the characteristics of roughness, harshness and uncouthness.

Wallace, a Scotchman, speaking the Scotch dialect, who lived long before English prose had been cultivated, could not possibly have written in a dialect foreign to him, and in Johnson's ornate, classical style. Just so it was impossible for Phalaris, a Spartan of the barbarous period of Greece, to write polished Attic Greek.

Here is an example of internal evidence. The whole of this rather artifical sentence is suggested to Macaulay by the common comparison of the Scotch dialect to the Doric.

roasted people alive. This refers to the legend of the Brazen Bull in which Phalaris is said to have roasted his victims to death, the first victim being the inventor of the machine himself.

26. *society*. The members of Christ Church College.

27. *Sir William Temple* (1628-1699). A notable diplomatist at a difficult period of English history, a charming prose-writer of some eminence in his day, but certainly no critic, and no scholar. This Essay "Of Ancient and Modern Learning" appeared in a volume "Miscellanea" (1692).

Ignorant and superficial as he is, Temple is always pleasant to read. In him "we feel that English prose has come to the birth and that here is a man at last who can write about nothing like a gentleman." In this he is the forerunner of Addison and Steele.

28. *It now seems strange, etc*. In this style of controversy Macaulay is at his ease. None more so. He uses all the devices of the "tartarly" reviewer, cutting sarcasm, exaggeration, invective, irony. He is perfectly in the right, of course, but the controversy is long since settled, and he is here "beating a dead dog." This Macaulay does, with a keener zest than usual, for two reasons. The controversy practically became a

struggle between the two rival Universities. Atterbury, Boyle, and Temple were Oxford men, their opponent Bentley a Cambridge man, as was Macaulay. They were, moreover, Tories, and Macaulay a Whig.

Page 4. 9. *The edition was prepared*, in 1695.

10. *tutor*. Each student is placed under the supervision of a "tutor," who directs his work.

12. *stoop to edit*. Degrade themselves by editing. There is almost an insinuation of *moral* depravity here.

The next sentence is a fine example of epigrammatic irony.

18. *Richard Bentley* (1662-1742). A famous classical scholar, a man of extraordinary character and qualities, a great critic. In 1699 he became Master of Trinity College, Cambridge (Macaulay's college). A copious author, he also produced editions of Homer, Horace, and Milton's "Paradise Lost."

19. *collated*. To collate is to compare two texts in order to establish the true text or to suggest different readers.

21. *which was false*. Bentley, in reality, seems to have been very churlish, in his capacity as Royal Librarian, with regard to this manuscript. A collated manuscript, said he, was "no better than a squeezed orange."

27. *dissertation*. A treatise, a discussion.

Page 5. 1. *Jesuit*. A member of the Society of Jesus, an order of priests within the Church of Rome, founded by Ignatius Loyola in the sixteenth century.

The Jesuit Fathers are a notable example of implicit obedience and loyalty to the rules and prestige of their Order.

2. *Their influence was great*. The reputation of Christ Church attracted members of the most powerful and aristocratic families of England, who subsequently formed an influential coterie, based on loyalty to their college. This loyal solidarity led them to support Boyle and Atterbury.

In the sarcasm of this paragraph one feels at once the equal loyalty of the man of Trinity College, Cambridge.

11. *which bears the name of Boyle*. It was in reality written mainly by Atterbury.

18. *Soho Square*. Then an aristocratic quarter of London, now, fallen upon evil days, it has become the special foreign quarter.

Covent Garden. First the *garden* of the *convent* of St. Peter's, then an open space, built round in a square by Inigo Jones; later became the famous fruit and flower market of to-day.

By 1800 both these quarters, once fashionable, had been deserted by the aristocracy, which migrated Westwards in the city.

19. *beau*. A fine gentleman. (Fr. *beau*, handsome.)

coquette. A fine lady and a flirt.

20. *Wildair*. Sir Harry Wildair, a popular character in "The Constant Couple," a play by George Farquhar (1678-1707), an actor, soldier and dramatist of the Restoration Age. Wildair is a graceless agreeable libertine. A second part followed this play a year later in 1701, called after this hero.

Lady Lurewell. Lady Lurewell is a character in the same play, "a lady of a jilting temper."

Mirabells and the Millamants. Mirabell and Millamant are the hero and heroine of "The Way of the World," a comedy by William Congreve (1670-1729), perhaps the wittiest of English dramatists. These names, all in the plural, have a generic or typical sense. "The Wildairs" means "men like Wildair" (then the most admired type).

22. *whose erudition sate so easily upon him.* He carried his learning gracefully, had not become a pedant. "Sate" is a poetical and literary alternative for "sat."

24. *Attic dialect.* See note on page 3, l. 16.

Anapæstic measure. A metre in classical verse. The anapæst is a foot consisting of two short syllables followed by a long syllable.

25. *Sicilian talents.* The "talent" was the name for a measure of weight, or a sum of money. The connection between the Attic and Agrigentive (Sicilian) systems of coinage is one of interest to the learned.

Thericlean cups. Thericles was a Corinthian potter of great celebrity.

26. *prig.* A conceited prudish pedant; originally a cant term for "thief."

33. *freshmen.* A freshman is one who is fresh or new to the University. It is a cant phrase to indicate an undergraduate in his first year's residence.

37. *a flogging.* In those days a more common punishment for school-boys' errors. Macaulay means that Atterbury's mistakes were childish and elementary, unworthy of serious consideration.

Page 6. 1. *It is good ... badness.* A fine example of paradox well led up to. The very badness of the *matter* makes the excellence of the *manner* more astonishing.

5. *Moliere's Miser.* Jean Baptiste Poquelin, who assumed the name of Molière (1622-1673), was the most famous of French comic dramatists and director of the Royal Company of actors of Louix XIV. Author of *Le Tartuffe, Le Misanthrope, Les Precieuses Ridicules,* etc.

Miser. "L'Avare" is one of the best known of Morlière's plays. The passage referred to is as follows:—Vàlere. "Voilà une belle merveille que de faire bonne chère avec bien de l 'argent! C'est une chose la plus aisée du monde, et il n'y a si pauvre esprit qui n'en fit bien autant. Mais pour agir en habile homme, il faut parler de faire bonne chère avec peu d'argent." ('L'Avare.' Act III. Sc. V.)

8. *Chronology.* Science which deals with division of time, and with the different systems of measurement of time, whereby dates are assigned to events.

10. *is not strange,* since Bentley was a great scholar.

13. *is strange indeed.* Macaulay has just explained why this was so. The prejudice of the parties and the excellent style and debating skill of Atterbury are the causes of his reputation.

16. *Smalridge.* George Smalridge (1663-1719), Bishop of Bristol, friend of Atterbury at Westminster and Christ Church, wrote in defence of the church against Walker and later joined Atterbury in his controversy.

He was a strong Tory and Jacobite and a lovable man, " humane and accomplished " as Macaulay says. (See Page 9, l. 25.)

Friend. John Friend (1675-1728), physician and politician, a life-long friend of Atterbury, and implicated in his Jacobite plot.

19. *retouched.* Rehandled, improved ; he put the last touches to it.

24. *He had little gold etc.* Here is a second metaphor expressing the same idea as the first on this page (l. 3. " There is no difficulty " etc.). The metaphor is that of a goldbeater. Atterbury had to make a little gold go a long way, *i. e.*, had little matter, little learning to display. He made a little argument accompany a great deal of mere rhetoric. Macaulay here certainly has " gold " enough, but he also spreads it out with the very art of Atterbury himself, the art of the practised lawyer, of the skilful debater. The last paragraph of this page (" Where he had no arguments, etc.") might have been written of Macaulay, especially in his early " smashing " days.

29. *massy bullion.* Solid, pure gold. Bullion is uncoined precious metal.

Page 7. 1. *Garth.* Sir Samuel Garth (1660-1718), a Whig physician of note, author of some poems, of which the best known is "The Dispensary," in which occur the line in question.

> " Still censures will on dull pretenders fall.
> " A Codrus should expect a Juvenal.
> " Ill lives, but like ill paintings are allowed,
> " To set off and to recommend the good.
> " So diamonds take a lustre from their foil ;
> " And to a Bentley 'tis we owe a Boyle."
>
> ("Dispensary." Canto V. 73-77.)

It is to be noted that Garth insulted Atterbury as well :—

> " He writ till none would read, becoming soon
> " A wretched scribbler, of a rare buffoon." (Canto I.)

3. *Swift.* Jonathan Swift (1667-1745), one of the greatest of English prose-writers and humorists. Born in Dublin, educated there, entered the Church, was extremely active in literature and politics, finally became Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin.

Author of " The Battle of the Books," "Tale of a Tub," " Gulliver's Travels," " Drapier's Letters ", etc.

" The Battle of the Books" treats of the contest between Ancient and Modern literatures, on the side of Temple and Ancient Literature.

Introduced etc. " But Apollo . . . . put on the shape of——and softly came to young Boyle, who then accompanied Temple : He pointed first to the lance, then to the distant Modern that flung it and commanded the young hero to take immediate revenge. Boyle, clad in a suit of armour, which had been given him by all the gods, immediately advanced against the trembling foe, who now fled before him." (Swift, " Battle of the Books.")

4. *armour.* The gift of all the gods. The gods in Greek legend gave magic armour to their favourites on earth, to protect them in battle. Boyle was furnished with arguments by better men than himself, such as Aldrich and Atterbury.

6. *may easily be filled up.* Apollo is Atterbury of course (in Greek mythology the Sun-God, Phœbus Apollo, and the god of wisdom).

7. *Accoutred.* Armed, equipped.

12. *written down.* To "write down" a man is to attack his literary reputation. Bentley means that the only way to ruin one's literary reputation is to write bad literature.

13. *He spent two years etc.* In 1697 appeared the famous "Dissertation on the Epistles of Phalaris" which settled the question once and for all, and was a model of criticism, as well as an irresistible piece of controversial writing.

23. *laws of Zaleucus and the laws of Charondas.* Zaleucus was a Greek, and Charondas a Sicilian, lawgiver, whose persons have been confused in legend, and of both of whom the same stories are told.

24. *The rage ...... extreme.* There was at this time a great struggle for supremacy between the two great parties in the Church, High Church and Low Church (the more distinctly Protestant, antiritualistic party).

The High Church supported the theory of Divine Right of Kings, and was mainly Tory, even Jacobite. The Low Church held a democratic theory of Kingship and were Whigs. From them naturally, William chose his Bishops.

28. *latitudinarianism.* Liberal opinion in matter of religion; particularly used of the opinions of those members of the Church who denied the doctrines of Divine right and the sacred origin of Episcopacy, in the time of Charles II. and onward. William III. has been spoken of as the chief of Latitudinarians.

29. *Touching.* With regard to.

30. *Lower House of Convocation.* Each ecclesiastical province of England (York and Canterbury) has an assembly of the church, a sort of Church Parliament, convoked by the Archbishop on a writ from the king. Here the Convocation of Canterbury is indicated, which is the chief. It is divided into an Upper House, of Archbishops and Bishops, and a Lower House, of the inferior clergy and their representatives.

Atterbury, with the lower House, maintained that Upper and Lower House were like Lords and Commons in Parliament, that the Lower House was independent of the Upper, and not subject to the Archbishop, but to their own officers only.

In the convocation of 1701 he upheld these views, and created a great impression by his skill and eloquence.

Thrust himself eagerly. Observe the constant, and somewhat unfair, sarcasm of Macaulay's judgments of Atterbury, who had every right to be "in the front rank" in a controversy.

34. *Religious zeal.* Atterbury was not quite so unprincipled as Macaulay would suggest.

35. *fraternity.* Brotherhood, society, used here with a depreciatory sense. One of his Whig enemies contradicts Macaulay when he accuses the Bishop of having "so much *religious zeal* that he had no time for prayers."

Page 8. 2. *Simply because* ...... This is an effective but extremely untrue epigram. Atterbury did not attack the bishops, because they were bishops and he himself only a priest ; he attacked them because they were Latitudinarian, Erastian bishops, and because he was a High Church priest. Nor did he change his attitude when he was a bishop himself.

5. *pretensions.* Unjustified claims.

7. *acrimony.* Bitterness, keenness. (Latin *acer*, sharp, quick.)

8. *antagonists.* Opponents, *e. g.* Wake, Gibson and Kennett.

Macaulay is unjust to Atterbury in this. Atterbury practically revived the utility of Convocation, which had become a dead letter, by his efforts.

Warburton says of the controversy that " Atterbury goes upon principles and all that Wake and Kennett could possibly oppose are precedents."

14. *passed himself off.* As a counterfeit coin is " passed," *i. e.* he deceived the world into thinking his claim genuine.

16. *Ecclesiastical.* Dealing with Church, or matters of religion. (Gk. *ecclesia*, church.)

17. *Wake.* Dr. Edmund Wake (1657-1737), Archbishop of Canterbury in 1716, after being Bishop of Lincoln. A tolerant opponent of Nonconformity, and a prolific writer on Church matters.

Gibson. Dr. Edmund Gibson (1669-1748), Bishop of London, one of our greatest authorities on church law, a man of literary attainments and a popular sermon-writer. Bishop of Lincoln in 1716, of London in 1720, he refused the archbishopric of Canterbury in 1747.

the great body is the large majority of inferior clergy.

19. *tribune.* Public representative. In Roman history, first a representative of a tribe, then a magistrate chosen by the people to represent them and to defend their liberties (tribunus plebis).

20. *oligarchy.* The rule of a few ; here, the small body of bishops who ruled. (Greek *oligos*, few and *arche*, rule.) In Greek history the term is applied to the mode of government of certain States, as opposed to *monarchy*, the rule of one, (*monos*, one.)

23. *Accession of Anne*, in 1702.

25. *deanery.* The office of Dean, the head of the Chapter, or governing body, of a Chathedral or Collegiate Church. (Latin *decanus.*)

Carlisle. A Cathedral town in the country of Cumberland, in the North-west of England.

26. *preferment.* The technical term for a Church appointment ; "he was preferred to the Deanery." (A Bishop is " translated " from one see to another.)

27. *the Whig party.* The Tory administrations of Godolphin and Harley gave way in 1705 to the Coalition Ministry, in which the Whigs were predominant.

28. *expect no favour.* His Tory politics were obnoxious to them.

30. *prosecution of Sacheverell.* Dr. Henry Sacheverell (1674-1724) was the pulpit mouthpiece of the extreme Tories and Jacobites. While Rector of St. Saviours', Southwark, he preached two violent sermons, one at St. Paul's Cathedral, attacking the Act of Settlement of 1688 and the Act of Toleration. He was impeached before the House of Lords

in 1710, found guilty of treason and suspended from preaching. The trial was one of great interest, and violent agitations accompanied and followed it. It was looked upon as an act of tyranny, and in the end, becoming a party question, brought about the fall of the Whig Government. Sacheverell was found guilty by a small majority but a very light sentence was passed on him.

31. *high-church fanaticism.* The High-Church party considered the person of a priest to be under ecclesiastical law only, and beyond the the jurisdiction of the civil power.

Page 9. 1. *at the bar of the Lords.* The impeached person is brought into the House of Lords at Westminster and stands at the "bar" to defend himself.

3. *unwisely.* The prosecution ruined the Whigs.

4. *impeachment.* Impeachment is a parliamentary procedure against criminals who endanger the welfare of the State. The charge is made in the House of Commons and tried before the House of Lords which acts as a bench of Judges, while the Commons furnish the prosecution. The last example was the attempt to impeach Lord Palmerston in 1848.

6. *pamphleteer.* One who practises the writing of pamphlets.

8. *when the ministry etc.* In 1710, when Harley and Bolingbroke formed a Tory ministry.

10. *prolocutor.* Each House of Convocation has a prolocutor or chairman. The prolocutor of the Lower House acts as Speaker and presents its resolutions to the Upper House.

11. *death of his old friend.* Aldrich died in 1710.

21. *chapter.* See Note on P. 8, l. 28.

25. *humane.* Kindly disposed.

27. "*Atterbury goes etc.*" We have this only on second-hand evidence. Smalridge was Atterbury's intimate friend.

29. *It was said etc.* Had they not already said it, Macaulay probably would have thought of it.

35. *He was removed.* Macaulay uses "removed" instead of "preferred," carrying out the idea of l. 30.

36. *Rochester.* A Cathedral town in Kent, the seat of a bishopric.

always united. The two benefices were always held by the same man.

37. *Westminster,* i. e. Westminster Abbey.

Page 10. 2. *episcopal bench.* The seats in the House of Convocation upon which the bishop sat:—*i. e.* some of the bishops were able men. (Lat. *episcopus,* a bishop, from which the word "bishop" is itself derived.)

5. *archbishopric of Canterbury.* The office of archbishop. A bishop rules over a diocese of the Church, an archbishop over a province made up of several dioceses. There are two provinces, Canterbury and York. The Archbishop of Canterbury is the Primate of England, and, under the King, head of the Church. Archbishop means chief or ruling bishop. (Greek *arche.*)

7. *accession of a family etc.* The German house of Hanover, in whom lay the succession to the throne, in the person of George I., was not likely to favour the Jacobite Tory party.

10. *to prepare matters.* Both parties made preparation. The Whigs had warned Marlborough to be ready. Bolingbroke, the Duke of Ormond, and the Earl of Mar were maturing their plans on the Tory and Jacobite sides. Queen Anne herself had strong Jacobite leanings.

12. *Act of Settlement.* The death of the last child of Anne in 1700 was followed in 1701 by a new Act of Succession. This act neglected the heirs of James II. and decreed that the Crown should pass to Sophia, the grand-daughter of James I., wife of the Elector of Hanover, and to her heirs.

13. *the Pretender.* James Francis Stuart (1688-1766), the son and heir of James II., and "Pretender" to the throne of England. He is known as the "Old Pretender," as distinguished from his son Charles, the "Young Pretender," and by his adherents as King James the Third.

14-17. *Atterbury, who . . . . lawn sleeves.* This story rests on doubtful authority.

"Is it not known that the moment the Queen was expired, Atterbury proposed to go in his lawn-sleeves and proclaim the Pretender at Charing Cross, but Bolingbroke's heart failing him Atterbury swore, 'There was the best cause in Europe lost for want of spirit.'" (Horace Walpole, "Letters" in 1749.)

But it is certain that he made great efforts at this crisis to obtain the succession of the Pretender.

17. *lawn-sleeves.* The broad flowing sleeves of fine linen worn by bishops only.

25-7. *did his best . . . was requited with cold contempt.* Atterbury was present at the Coronation as Bishop of Rochester. He was entitled to the gift of the throne and canopy, in return for his services, and offered these perquisites to King George I., who rejected them. George I. certainly had not the art of reconciling enemies.

34. *journals of the peers.* Each House of Parliament has a daily record of its proceedings, kept by the Clerk of the House.

37. *the aliens.* Germans. King George was a German, speaking German only, who cared far more for his kingdom of Hanover than for England, and who filled his English Court with German fovourites upon whom he lavished money.

Page 11. 3. *the rebellion of 1715.* The Jacobite Revolt of 1715 was a desperate but hopeless and ill-organised attempt to gain the throne for the Pretender. The Earl of Mar and James himself were defeated in Scotland and the North of England where their strength lay, and the revolt was easily crushed.

3. *refused to sign the paper.* This declaration contained grave reflection upon the High Church party, of which Atterbury was the leader, and for this reason he refused to sign it.

The other bishops were mainly Whigs in politics and latitudinarians in religion.

5. *Protestant succession* i. e. the principle according to which no Roman Catholic should become king of England. The King must declare his attachment to the Church of England.

The Pretender was a Roman Catholic, as was his father James II., and his son the Young Pretender, and to this is largely due the failure of the Jacobite cause.

6. *electioneering.* The affairs of a parliamentary election.

9-10. *to prevent .... polling.* To prevent Whig constituents from registering their votes. Such violent methods of electioneering were fairly common until the middle of the 19th century.

11. *indirect* i. e. communication through mutual agents.

12. *exiled family.* A Bill of Attainder banished the Stuart family.

13. *the Pretender.* The titular James III. was then in Lorraine, having been sent away from Paris in 1715, where he, like his father, had held his court at St. Germain.

16. *Jacobite cause.* The cause of the Stuarts. (Lat. *Jacobus*, James.)

21. *strict probity* was a most unusual virtue in those troubled times and Atterbury was at any rate no place-seeker, unlike the Whig prelates, and he never failed in his duty to the church and his office.

22. *House of Brunswick.* The House of Hanover. The Elector of Hanover was also Duke of Brunswick.

24. *abjured James III.* He had sworn to abandon the cause of James III.

24-26. "*without . . . Christian.*" A phrase from the form of oath of allegiance. "Equivocation" and "mental reservation" are phrases indicating practises ascribed to the Jesuits, and considered lawful by them. "Equivocation" means saying the prescribed words while interpreting them for oneself in a different way.

25. *mental reservation.* The words are spoken while the speaker adds to himself secretly a "reservation", qualification or exception to them. In these ways the speaker satisfies his conscience while satisfying outwardly the conditions of the oath.

29. *domestic endearments.* The affection of his family circle.

30-31. *in the society......most illustrious of the living.* Atterbury was the dear friend of many of the most remarkable men of the time. Pope, Swift, Bolingbroke, Bathurst were among them. Addison, in spite of political and religious differences, called him "one of the greatest geniuses of the age."

31. *and of the dead.* He spent much time among his books, and had a true love for good literature, both classical and modern.

32. *his daughter.* Afterwards Mrs. Morice.

Page 12. 2. *The charm of his.........in imperishable verse.* The "friend" spoken of here is Pope, and the verses are indeed beautiful, and must have been written in one of Pope's own rare "softer hours":—

> "Oft in the clear, still mirror of retreat,
> I studied Shrewsbury, the wise and great:
> Carleton's calm sense, and Stanhope's noble flame,
> Compared, and knew their generous end the same;

How pleasing Atterbury's softer hour!
How shined the soul, unconquered in the Tower! ....
Names which I long have loved, nor loved in vain,
Ranked with their friends, not numbered with their train.
(Epilogue to the "Satires." Dialogue II, ll. 78 ff.)

2-4. *Though Atterbury's............excellent.* Atterbury's taste was, on the whole, that of his age. As Macaulay's own leanings were towards 18th Century ideals in literature, he finds himself able to praise Atterbury's taste heartily.

6. *Milton.* John Milton (1608-1674), one of the greatest of English poets, epic and lyric. An extreme Puritan, he was one of Cromwell's ministers, and attacked both King (Charles I.) and Church in his prose writings. His chief poetical works are "Paradise Lost," "Paradise Regained," "L' Allegro" and "Il Penseroso," "Comus" and "Lycidas" and "Samson Agonistes."

As to Atterbury's love for Milton, see Page 15, l. 8 and Note.

9. *Addison.* Joseph Addison (1672-1719), the greatest Essay-writer in English literature, a poet and dramatist. He produced, together with Steele, the two periodicals the "Tatler" and the "Spectator."

"Whoever wishes to attain an English style.........must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison." (Dr. Johnson.)

Chapel of Henry VII. This Royal Chapel was added to Westminster Abbey by Henry VII.

Atterbury, in his capacity as Dean of Westminster, as well as friend of Addison, officiated at the funeral service. Westminster Abbey is the burial-place of the most famous of Englishmen, "the great national cemetery" as Macaulay calls it. (Page 17.)

15. *Swift.* Swift lived near Atterbury for some time at Chelsea and referred to him as "my neighbour over the way."

Arbuthnot. John Arbuthnot (1667-1735), a physician, strong Tory and a satiric prose-writer in the manner of Swift. Author of the famous "History of John Bull."

Gay. John Gay (1685-1732), a poet and wit of some note in his day, best known by his "Beggar's Opera," his most original work.

16. *Prior.* Matthew Prior (1664-1721), a Jacobite man of letters, exquisite writer of light verse, humorist and diplomatist.

17. *Pope.* Alexander Pope (1688-1744), perhaps the greatest satiric and didactic poet in English literature, next to Dryden. Author of translations of the "Iliad" and "Odyssey," and of "The Dunciad," "The Rape of the Lock" and "Essay on Man."

His friendship with Atterbury was unusually constant and long continued.

21. *Bromley.* In Kent, where the palace of the Bishop of Rochester was situated.

24. *criminal...designs,* i. e. in Jacobite plots, criminal, of course, from the Whig or Hanoverian point of view.

27. *events of 1715.* The Jacobite Revolt, which was so thoroughly crushed.

It revived in 1721. The birth of a Stuart heir, the Younger Pretender, Charles Edward, in 1720, encouraged the Jacobites.

28. *the South Sea project.* A company was formed trading to the South Seas (Pacific islands) which paid heavily to the Government for their monopoly. In 1720 the apparent success of the scheme induced a fever of speculation which finally resulted in a heavy fall in South Sea shares, and caused wide-spread ruin throughout the country. The unpopularity of the government at this time seemed to afford the Jacobites a favourable moment for their attempt.

33. *an insurrection.* This plot is generally known as "Atterbury's Plot."

34. *the Tower.* The Tower of London is a celebrated ancient fortress on the north bank of the Thames. It is a collection of buildings of various periods, with the central "White Tower." It has served as a palace and a prison for political offenders; now is an arsenal and museum.

the Bank. The Bank of England. By seizing the Tower and the Bank, the conspirators would be furnished with arms and with money.

Page 13. 1. *Duke of Orleans.* Philip II., Duke of Orleans (1674—1723), nephew of Louis XIV., the brilliant but dissolute Regent of France. On the death of Louis XIV. in 1715, his grandson, Louis XV., a minor, succeeded, and a Regency was formed, under the Duke of Orleans. The Duke was next heir to the throne, and George guaranteed the succession of the House of Orleans in France, while Orleans guaranteed the succession of the House of Hanover in England, thus reversing the policy of Louis XIV.

3. *Some of the chief malcontents.* Lord North, Lord Orrery and the Duke of Norfolk were imprisoned.

8. *seven bishops.* Archbishop Sancroft and Bishops Ken, White, Lloyd, Trelawney, Lake and Turner, drew up at Lambeth a petition to James II., protesting against his demand that the clergy should read his "Declaration of Indulgence" in their churches (May 1687). They were arrested by the king, brought to trial, and accused of sedition. The sympathies of the people, who looked on them as martyrs, were all on their side, and their acquittal was the signal for great public rejoicings.

11. *rushed into the waters.* In order to obtain a better view of the Archbishop at his cell-window.

12. *Sancroft.* William Sancroft (1616—1693), Archbishop of Canterbury, a strong Tory and High Churchman. After the Revolution he refused to take the oath to William and Mary and was suspended from his see in 1691, in spite of his resistance of James II.

Pictures of the heroic confessor. A print was issued broadcast showing the bishop looking through the bars of his prison, holding in his hand a portrait of the martyred Laud.

15. *The restraints etc.* He was not allowed to see even his daughter alone.

16-17. *cruelties worthy of the dungeons of the Inquisition.* "Such usage, such hardships, such insults, as I have undergone might have broken a more resolute spirit......I have been treated with such severity and so great indignity as I believe no prisoner in the Tower, of my age, infirmities, function and rank ever underwent." (Atterbury, Speech to the Lords.) The "Inquisition" was a court established in the 13th century by the Roman Catholic Church for inquiring into cases of heresy and punishing the offenders. The cruelties perpetrated by the Spanish Inquisition are particularly notorious.

19. *their cloth,* i.e. their dress; the distinctive dress of the priesthood, hence, by metonymy, the priesthood itself which claims the respect due to its sacred office.

18-23. *Would they etc......would they......mankind.* Rhetorical questions, illustrating the kind of "appeal" that was made.

26. *Walpole.* Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Oxford (1676-1745), a great Whig politician, and a man of remarkable qualities. "If I had not been Prime Minister, I should have been Archbishop of Canterbury," he said of himself. Unscrupulous in his methods, he was moderate and successful in his administration at a most difficult period: the first of England's "Peace Ministers." At the time of Atterbury's plot he had just become Prime Minister (April 1721).

30. *circumstantial proofs.* Evidence founded not on direct proofs, but on *circumstances* which rendered his guilt *probable.*

33. *bill of pains and penalties.* This is a legislative act of parliament, aimed at an individual; similar to a Bill of Attainder, except that the penalty is not death, unlike an Impeachment in that the latter is not a Bill, but a form of judicial procedure. Such a Bill is introduced when the law-courts would yield unsatisfactory resuts, or fail to convict. No evidence need be called before the House. Legally the process is indefensible. It is a mere expedient, and may only be defended on the grounds of expediency.

34-35. *the Whig party, then......predominant.* The country as a whole was still Tory, but the royal influence had ensured a Whig parliament.

Page 14. 1. *Sir John Fenwick.* The last victim of a Bill of Attainder. He was executed in 1697 for participation in the Jacobite Assassination Plot against William III., though there was no legal evidence whatever as in Atterbury's case.

to pass an act, i. e. a Bill of Attainder which could inflict the penalty of death.

2. *Cadogan.* William, 1st Earl of Cadogan, one of Marlborough's famous generals. He crushed the Revolt of 1715, was made Earl in 1716 and became Commander-in-Chief, on Marlborough's death.

4. "*Fling him to the lions*". Henry III. established a menagerie of wild beasts in the Tower of London, which remained there until 1828, when it was removed to the new Zoological Gardens.

5. *the wiser and more humane Walpole.* Walpole was uniformly moderate in his dealings with political enemies, a new attitude in English politics.

7. *the evidence.* See note on page 15, l. 20.

12. *spiritual dignities.* His rank in the church, and his offices as Bishop of Rochester and Dean of Westminster.

18. *the assembly of which he was a member.* A certain a number of the Bishops have seats in the House of Lords, one of whom is the Bishop of Rochester.

19. *The young Duke of Wharton.* Philip, Duke of Wharton (1699-1737), then only twenty-two years of age, very early showed his extraordinary talents as a politician, and his unprincipled character. Pope calls him "the scorn and wonder of our days." He became subsequently a close adherent of the Pretender abroad.

22. *Atterbury's own voice.* His speech on this occosion was by common consent acknowledged to be a wonderfully fine defence.

26. *Pope......was called.* Attrebury warned Pope in a letter that he might need his evidence. "I know not but I may call upon you at my hearing to say somewhat about my way of spending my time at the deanery, which did not seem calculated towards managing plots and conspiracies."

27. *inmate of the palace.* See page 12, l. 20. ff.

31-32. *though he had ... blunders.* "Pope had but few words to speak and in those few we are told that he made several blunders." (Mahon, "History."

36. *Lord Bathurst.* Allen Bathurst, 1st Earl (1684-1775), a Tory politician and a wit, created Baron in 1711 and Earl in 1762.

Page 15. 1. "*The wild Indians*", i. e. the American Red Indians, notorious for their bloodthirsty superstitions. Another version insinuates a still less creditable motive to the Whig prelates that it was his *spoils* they hoped to inherit. Bathurst altered this during the trial, in answer to the Bishop of St. Asaph's who had made an unfounded accusation.

4. *right reverend.* The courtesy title of a bishop. A priest is "Reverend," an Archbishop "Most Reverend." "The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Rochester" was the full title of Atterbury.

7. *worthy of a better man.* Never were the admittedly fine qualities of a remarkable man more grudgingly recognized than by Macaulay in these intolerant words.

8. *his favourite poet.* Milton. Macaulay doubtless refers to the fine farewell letter to Pope, written "From the Tower, April 19th 1723," of which the conclusion runs as follows:—"You and I have spent many hours together upon pleasanter subjects, and that I may preserve *the old custom*, I shall not part with you now till I have closed this letter with three lines of Milton which you will, I know, readily, and not without some degree of concern, apply to you.

Ever-affectionate etc.

'Some natural tears he dropped, but wiped them soon;
The world was all before him, where to choose
His place of rest, and providence his guide.'"

13-14. *studied the Bible to much purpose.* Another of Macaulay's sneers, in which he repeats the unfounded accusation of Page 7, ll. 33-34. For Macaulay, to study the Bible "to some purpose," I suspect, means to study it in the light of a Whig gospel.

14-16. "*If ever you learn..just.*" The phrase surely indicates the future, i. e. "if ever you learn that I have joined the Jacobites." In any case the authority for its authenticity is doubtful.

20. *voyage to Lapute.* One of the voyages of Samuel Gulliver, described in Swift's "Gulliver's Travels," is to the island of Laputa, a "flying island." In this part of the book he pours coarse satire on English methods of justice.

"It is first agreed and settled among them, what suspected persons shall be accused of a plot; then effectual care is taken to secure all their letters and papers, and put the criminals in chains. These papers are delivered to a set of artists, very dexterous in finding out the mysterious meanings of words, syllables and letters. For instance they can discover a lame dog (to signify) an invader." ("A Voyage to Laputa etc.")

The "lame dog" referred to here is the dog "Harlequin" which was sent as a present from the Earl of Mar, the Jacobite leader in France, to Atterbury, and was perhaps the chief witness against him at the trial. Swift further satirized the trial in a set of verses "Upon the horrid Plot discovered by Harlequin, the Bishop of Rochester's French Dog," which are amusing enough.

"I asked a Whig the other night,
How came this wicked plot to light.
He answered that a dog of late
Informed minister of state.
His answers were exceeding pretty
Before the secret wise committee.
Confessed as plain as he could bark,
Then with his fox-foot set his mark," etc.

26. *at Paris.* Louis XIV. had welcomed James II. and his followers to Paris, on his flight from England, and had maintained a Stuart Court at St. Germains. When this court broke up in 1715, most of the Jacobites remained in Paris. Atterbury left Brussels on account of illness, during which he was tended by his daughter, "the tenderest of daughters to to the best of fathers."

28. *Rome.* The Pretender, banished from France, went to Lorraine, then in 1719, upon the invitation of the Pope Clement XI., to Rome. The Pope gave him a palace, the Palazzo Muti, maintained his Court, and acknowledged him as King James III.

29-32. *But Atterbury felt......invitation.* These are strange scruples if Atterbury was a man who had no "religious zeal" and moreover was no longer a Bishop.

31. *Vatican.* The immense palace of the Pope, built on the Vatican Hill at Rome. It is a treasure-house of books, painting and sculpture.

37.—*Page* 16. 1. *he was as Bolingbroke....king without a kingdom.* He became Secretary of State to James. Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke (1678-1757), Tory politician and Jocobite, was Prime Minister in 1710 to Queen Anne, and was forced to take refuge in France in 1715. (See Page 10, l. 14, Note.) There he became Secretary of State to the

Pretender, by whom he was dismissed in 1716. He was allowed to return to England in 1723, meeting Atterbury on his way into exile, and devoted himself to polemic literature and philosophy.

5. *at Westminster*, i. e. in the English Parliament.

6. *revenues.* He received a considerable allowance from the Pope, who maintained also a body of troops as his guard.

7. *there was more fraction etc.* The records of the Stuart courts at St. Germain and Rome are full of petty, discreditable intrigues, and the condition of the mass of the courtiers was miserable.

10-11. *He quitted Paris.* In 1728.

11. *Montpelier.* A town in the south of France near the Mediterranean coast, famous for its ancient medical faculty.

12. *In the sixth year.* In 1729.

17. *Bordeaux.* A large sea-coast town in the south-west of France, which carried on a large trade with English ports. It is the centre of the Bordeaux wine-trade.

24. *Toulouse.* A large town in the south of France, on the Garonne, about half way between Bordeaux and Montpelier, 160 miles from Bordeaux.

24-25. *received......the sacred bread and wine.* The Bishop administered the holy office of the communion to her, wherein the sacred bread and wine symbolize the Body and Blood of God.

27. *She died that night.* Observe Macaulay's remarkable narrative skill in the relation of this incident.

29-30. *As soon as ... conflict.* It is not likely that grief for his daughter threw Atterbury into political strife again. Atterbury, his counsels rejected, retired, and when he was called for again, was ready to obey the call, old man as he was. Mere factiousness will not suffice in order to explain all Atterbury's actions.

33. *dull and bigoted.* The historical conception of James's character has been greatly modified of late years.

Page 17. 2. *the phantom minister of a phantom monarchy.* One of Macaulay's striking, epigrammatic and wonderfully expressive phrases which haunt the memory. The Monarchy of James was like a ghost, a delusion without real existence, a mere idea. His minister had no power, and was only the shadow of a minister.

6-10. *he had been accused ... History of the Rebellion.* Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon (1608-1764), the minister of both Charles I. and Charles II., and father-in-law of James II., wrote a notable "History of the Great Rebellion," of great literary merit. It was published in 1702-04 from a transcript of the original made under Clarendon's supervision. The edition was supervised by the Earl of Rochester, asisted by Aldrich and Sprat (Bishop of Rochester), both Christ Church men. Certain expressions were softened and altered by them, as Clarendon in his will desired them to do at their discretion, but without material change or interpolation.

6. *Oldmixon.* John Oldmixon (1673-1742), a virulent Whig party-writer and pamphleteer, a versifier, and no mean "garbler" of other writers'

histories himself, attacked these editors, and Atterbury in chief, in 1730. His charges were easily refuted in Atterbury's "Vindication" of himself, written in 1731, at Paris.

8. *the Dunciad* is a violent and extremely witty satirical poem by Pope, attacking the "dunces" among the lesser poets of the day and incidentally all Pope's enemies. Pope's lines have given unenviable immortality to obscure names, of whom Oldmixon is one. He is represented as plunging, mother-naked, into his native element of slime!

19. *the resemblance between his own fate and that of Clarendon.* In 1673, Clarendon, then prime minister, was dismissed and exiled. A Bill of Pains and Penalties decreed that he should be banished and disabled from holding office, that it should be felony for any one to correspond with him but his own children. He, like Atterbury, narrowly escaped a Bill of Attainder and, like Atterbury, he spent most of his exile in Montpelier.

23-25. *One of the exiles ... Royal house.* The three chief agents of the Restoration of Charles II. in 1660 were Monk, who led the army, Montague, who led the navy, and Clarendon, then Sir Edward Hyde, most important of all, who was the political and diplomatic agent of Charles.

27. *A few weeks after ... Atterbury died.* In 1732 at Paris.

32-35. *That the epitaph ...Cibber.* The epitaph is as follows: "On Dr. Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester. Who died in Exile at Paris, 1732 (his only daughter having expired in his arms, immediately after she arrived in France to see him).

DIALOGUE.

SHE

Yes, we have lived—one pang, and then we part!
May Heaven, dear Father! now have all thy Heart.
Yet ah! how once we loved, remember still,
Till you are dust like me.

HE

Dear Shade! I will.
There mix this dust with thine—O spotless Ghost!
O more than Fortune, Friends, or Country lost!
Is there on Earth, one care, one wish beside?
Yes—SAVE MY COUNTRY, HEAVEN
He said, and died."

As for the poetic merits of this tribute to the Bishop, it is hardly necessary to judge. Epitaphs are rarely distinguished by poetic beauty.

35. *Colley Cibber* (1671-1757), actor, playwright and versifier, though no poet. Poet Laureate in 1730, Pope honoured him by making him, in the second version, hero of the "Dunciad" and prince of Dulness, in the place of Theobald, the original hero.

Page 18. 4. *State Trials.* Collections of important trials published at various times. The best known modern collections are those of Howell and Macdonnel.

5-6. *correspondence, edited by Mr. Nichols.* John Nichols (1745-1876), the famous printer, published Atterbury's Correspondence in five volumes, from 1783-1787.

6. *Stuart papers.* These were published from documents of the Stuart family found at Rome, where the Pretender held his court, and sent to George IV. whose librarian at Windsor, Mr. Glover, edited them. Extracts from them may be seen in appendices to Lord Mahon's History.

9. *Lord Mahon's History of England.* Lord Mahon, afterwards Earl Stanhope, under which name he is generally known (1805-1875). His History is a standard work still. The difference between his judgment of Atterbury and Macaulay's is practically the measure of Macaulay's Whig intolerance.

JOHN BUNYAN.

Page 19. 1. *the most popular religious writer.* The Bible and Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" are the two books which are read by all English-speaking people, and which have had a dominating influence upon the religious thought of the masses.

4-7. *tinkers and gypsies.* The Gypsies are a vagrant tribe of Indian origin. Their name is a corruption of "Egyptian." Their place of origin, as they say, is Little Egypt (Asia Minor probably) and their leader is called the King of Little Egypt. Most of these wandering people follow the trade of tinker, others are musicians, others fortune-tellers.

8. *Bunyan's father.* Thomas Bunyan was no vagrant tinker. He himself in his will describes himself as a "brazier," a whitesmith. His family had long been settled in Elstow, where they held freehold hereditary property, of which a forge, a shop and a "fixed residence" (l. 9) were the remains. He was certainly *not* of "the tribe." A great deal of our knowledge of Bunyan's life is derived from his autobiographical book "Grace Abounding", from which quotations are given in these notes. Macaulay is possibly misled by Bunyan's own over-humble words. "My descent was of a low and inconsiderable generation, my father's house being of that rank that is meanest and most despised of all the families of the land."

10. *a village school.* "I learned to read and write according to the rate of other poor men's children", but he confesses that he "soon lost that little he learnt even almost utterly." There is no reason for believing, with Froude, that he went to Bedford Grammar School.

12. *boyhood.* From 1629-1642 the Puritan and Parliamentary opposition to the policy of Charles I. was coming to a head. In 1642 the Civil War broke out between King and Parliament.

15. *Bedfordshire.* All the eastern countries were strongly parliamentarian in the war, and from them Cromwell's "Ironsides" were recruited.

18. *religious terrors.* This was a disorder prevalent in an age of extreme religious fervour. Given a child of remarkable imagination, it is not astonishing that the peculiar "hell and damnation" doctrine taught by his parents should produce such a morbid effect. The Puritan "fear of God" was a very real fear.

18-21. *Before he was ten.........fly away with him.* "My sins did so offend the Lord that even in my childhood He did scare and affright me with fearful dreams, and did terrify me with dreadful visions. I have been in my bed greatly afflicted while asleep, with apprehensions of devils and wicked spirits who still, as I thought then, laboured to draw me away with them, of which I could never be rid. I was afflicted with thoughts of the

Day of Judgment night and day, trembling at the thoughts of the fearful torments of hell fire."

He even looked upon his "sports and childish vanities" as sins.

24. *all his biographers.* The anonymous biographies of 1692 and 1700, those of Charles Doe, and of Offor, of Ivimey, etc.

Mr. Southey. Robert Southey (1774-1843), one of the Lake Poets with Wordsworth and Coleridge. Poet Laureate in 1813. A very fine prose-writer, he is perhaps best known for his "Life of Nelson". His "Life of Bunyan" appeared in 1830, prefixed to a new illustrated edition of the "Pilgrim's Progress", upon which Macaulay wrote a review.

Even Southey seems to have exaggerated Bunyan's faults, when he says that "he had been a blackguard," but he adds that Bunyan had never been a vicious man.

24-28. *It has long been......wickedness.* This was Bunyan's own view of his case as the title of his autobiographical book implies, "Grace Abounding to the *Chief* of Sinners."

29. *brand plucked from the burning.* A favourite Puritan expression from the Bible; *i.e.* a sinner saved from the fire of hell by the grace of God.

30. *Mr. Ivimey's History of the Baptists.* Joseph Ivimey (1773-1834), a prominent member and minister of the Baptist community, a rigid and narrow-minded sectarian. He wrote a life of Bunyan among other historical works.

Baptists. A number of dissenters, who had fled to Holland, founded there the sect of Baptists, so called from their belief in adult baptism as opposed to infant baptism. This sect spread largely and is now one of the most important bodies of Nonconformists. They were originally called *Anabaptists* because they were *against* infant baptism.

Page 20. 1. *Mr. Ryland.* Rev. John Ryland (1753-1825), a Baptist minister and schoolmaster, and the author of various religious and educational works.

2. *Dissenters.* The Dissenters are those who *dissent* from the faith of the established churches and have formed churches according to their views. The term includes the whole body of Protestant Nonconformists. (The Roman Catholics, though really *dissenters,* are not included in the term.)

7. *a soul-despising...soul-damning.* He despised his own soul, and was on the way to murdering and damning it by his actions.

14-16. *deceived by a phraseology......understood better.* The language of the Puritans was based upon, almost borrowed from, the Bible, especially from the poetical hyperbolical language of the Jewish prophets and the Psalms. Their exaggerated sense of guilt was expressed in exaggerated terms. "Conviction of sin" was a necessary preliminary to salvation, the more they felt this conviction therefore, the more hope of salvation. The doctrine of "Original Sin" was an article of very practical belief indeed.

A good example of this Biblical phraseology is the apostrophe of Mr. Ryland above: "Now be astonished, O heavens, etc."

19-25. *Many excellent persons etc.* The case of Cromwell is an excellent parallel. "You know what my manner of life has been," he himself writes, "Oh I lived in and loved darkness and hated light. I hated godliness."

24. *Titus Oates.* An apostate English clergyman, "doomed to an immortality of infamy," fabricator of the notorious "Popish Plot" in 1678 which caused an outbreak of persecution of the Roman Catholics, who were innocent of any "plot." Rewarded at first for his perjury, he was cruelly punished afterwards by James II.

Mrs. Brownrigg. Elizabeth Brownrigg was a notorious murderess, who was guilty of diabolical cruelty to her apprentice girls, and was hanged at Tyburn in 1767. Her deeds became the subject of various pamphlets at the time.

29-31. *penitents who......the worst of mankind.* This is one form of expressing the humility of Christian morality. St. Paul calls himself "the chief of sinners" but, like Bunyan, defends himself against specific charges.

31. *fired up.* Flamed up, became indignant.

"My foes have missed their mark in this, I am not the man."

33-34. *he had let loose...lusts.* Bunyan's own phrase in the oriental metaphorical style of the Bible. He compares his lusts to a horse bearing him away, uncontrolled.

37. *vice. Mischief* would perhaps be truer.

Page 21. 2. *his purity.* There was no greater crime than impurity for the Puritan. Hawthorne's "Scarlet Letter" illustrates the sternness with which they punished unchastity.

8. *profane language.* Even this mild vice he indulged in with trembling. "Once, when I was in the height of my vanity, hearing one swear that was reckoned a religious man, it made my heart to ache."

9. *a single reproof cured him.* "One day as I was standing at a neighbour's shop-window and there cursing and swearing after my wonted manner, there sat within the woman of the house and heard me, who, though she was a loose and ungodly wretch, protested that I swore and cursed at such a rate that she trembled to hear me...At this reproof I was silenced and put to shame and that too, as I thought, before the God of Heaven." From that time he "did leave off swearing to his great wonder" and found that "he could speak better and more pleasantly than he did before."

13. *reprobate.* An evil liver. The Puritans used this term in a technical sense, as opposed to the "elect" (the chosen of God), to mean those who were not admitted to God's grace, *i. e.* the damned.

village Rochester. A village or rustic profligate. Wilmot, Earl of Rochester (1647-1680), was a notorious, brilliant, libertine and debauchee at the Court of Charles II., and the author of much witty but licentious verse. He and Sedley were the leaders of the discreditable adventures of Court rakes, which are compared to the pranks of Bunyan and other apprentices whom he led.

15. *precisians.* A precisian is one who is *precise* or strict in his observance of religious duties. The word was synonymous with "Puritan" in the 16th and 17th centuries.

17. *chief sins.* None but Puritans could have found sin in those innocent amusements. One of them indeed, bell-ringing, by all others is looked upon as a pious duty.

18. *tipcat.* This old English game is played with a stick and a small piece of *tipped* or pointed wood (the cat) which is struck by the stick on the tip, then, as it rises, struck again as far as possible.

19. *the history of Sir Bevis of Southampton.* A character in one of his book says: "Give me a ballad, a news-book, George on horseback (*i. e.* St. George) or Bevis of Southampton; give me some book that...tells old fables". *Bevis of Southampton* or of *Hampton* is an old metrical romance of the 14th century, of which Sir Bevis is the hero who kills the giant Ascapart in the end.

19-20. *A rector of the school of Laud.* A rector who held the opinions of Laud, and carried them out, a *disciple* of Laud.

William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury (1573-1644), was, with Strafford, the chief minister of Charles I. He was the bitter enemy of nonconformity. He fell at the same time as Strafford, was impeached and executed later, in 1644, by the Puritan Parliament.

His views upon morality were much broader than those of the Puritans. By his orders a "Book of Sports" was read in all churches. It was banned by the Puritans when they came into power.

21. *a model.* Cromwell may not have looked upon him as a complete *model* of virtue, but he admitted him into the ranks of the New *Model* army and this, as J. R. Green points out, is sufficient proof of Bunyan's purity and sobriety.

26-7. *gave a lasting colour to his thoughts.* Influenced his thoughts profoundly. Macaulay explains this further on in the second half of this paragraph. "The holy War", for example, is *coloured* by Bunyan's experiences as a soldier.

27. *parliamentary army.* Macaulay based this statement on insufficient evidence. Froude is as certain that it was the Royalist army. Macaulay was right, however, as a recent discovery of the muster-rolls of the garrison of Newport Pagnell show. Bunyan was on duty there in the Parliamentary army from 1644 to 1647, under Sir Samuel Luke (the hero of Butler's satiric "Hudibras").

28. *the decisive campaign of 1645.* The "New Model" army of Cromwell was irresistible in this campaign and the battle of Naseby ruined the royal cause, and practically ended the war.

29. *the seige of Leicester.* An account of this is given in the anonymous "Life and Actions of John Bunyan" (1692). "When I was a soldier I with others was drawn out to go to such a place to besiege it. But when I was just ready to go one of the company desired to go in my room, to which when I consented, he took my place and coming to the siege as he stood sentinel he was shot in the head with a musket and died." This *place* could not be Leicester, as there the Royalists were the attackers. The tradition is therefore self-contradictory.

Page 22 1. *.Greatheart.* Greatheart is a character in the Second Part of the "Pilgrim's Progress." He is a servant of Interpreter and guides and defends Christiana, the wife of Christian, on her journey, slaying the giants Maul and Despair.

2. *Captain Boanerges.* One of the four chief captains of the first army

of Shaddai (God) in Bunyan's "Holy War," described as a rough stem soldier. This army failed to defeat the forces of Diabolus (the Devil) and to capture the town of Mansoul. (Boanerges means the "son of thunder".)

Captain Credence. Shaddai sends out a second army under Emmanuel, his Son (Jesus Christ). One of his New Captains is Captain Credence, a milder but more efficient leader. (Credence means Faith.)

4. *martial saints.* The Parliamentary army, especially the "New Model" army, was a strange mixture of religious zeal and of warlike spirit. These Puritan soldiers fought and prayed with equal fervour; they charged, "singing psalms" and with the words of the Bible upon their lips. "Men of religion" as they were they would approve of Greatheart and, like him, would "love one greatly that they found to be a man of his hands."

2. *expounded.* Cromwell himself, in the camps of the army, preached to his men, expounding the Bible to them, as did most of the Puritan leaders.

Fairfax. Thomas, Lord Fairfax (1611—1671), became the general-in-chief of the Parliamentary forces in 1645.

6. *in a few months.* It was only after two years. (See note on Page 21, l. 26.)

married. Bunyan was married probably in 1648, when he was twenty years old. He does not mention the name of his wife in his autobiography.

7-8. *brought him . . . pious books.* Bunyan tells us, "We were as poor as poor might be." "We had not so much household stuff as a dish or spoon between us."

"My wife had for her part *The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven* and *The Practice of Piety* which her father had left her when he died." The first of these obscure books of piety suggests the subject of the "Pilgrim's Progress" which Bunyan was to write.

10-11. *the infectious virulence . . . epidemic in England.* Macaulay here compares religious fanaticism to a prevalent dangerous and infectious disease, then spreading all over England.

11. *epidemic.* A disease which breaks out in a particular region, spreads by infection, and then ceases, is said to be epidemic. It is brought about by external causes, as opposed to an *endemic* disease, of which the causes are present in the region.

12-13. *in outward things . . . . Pharisee.* He was a very strict observer of religious forms.

Pharisee. The Pharisees were a powerful religious sect of the Jews which was denounced by Christ as hypocritical. The word Pharsiee has since come to signify hypocritical zeal and self-rightousness.

Bunyan calls himself at this time "a poor painted thing" and says that he then "thought no man in England could please God better than I."

14. *His favourite amusements . . . painful struggles.* All these incidents on pp. 22-23 and 24 are related in "Grace Abounding". (See note on Page 1, l. 1.)

It is difficult for us now to believe in the entire sincerity of these confessions. Yet there is no doubt that Bunyan was sincere. Though this strange "tenderness of conscience" was very morbid, his fears and struggles were very real to him.

20. *an awful countenance.* He saw "the Lord Jesus looking down upon me, as being hotly displeased with me." No doubt a reminiscence of St. Paul's vision.

25. *the steeple would fall on his head.* Many stories of terrible divine punishment were current, and Bunyan knew and believed them.

27. *dancing on the village green.* This and other amusements characterized the rural life of "Merrie England" until the Puritan gloom overshadowed it, banishing innocent pleasure as thoroughly as guilty sin.

29. *darling sin.* His favourite sin, to which he was most attached. The Puritans interpreted and obeyed very strictly the maxim "If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out."

36-37. *he began . . . . malediction.* He began to fear that he was specially cursed by God.

"Malediction," a curse, opposed to "benediction," a blessing.

Page 23. 1. *fantasies.* Fantasy is the same word as "fancy."

2. *bedlam.* Lunatic asylum. The word is a corruption of Bethlehem (Hospital), a religious house turned into a hopital for lunatics by Henry VIII.

His imaginations seemed likely to drive him mad.

4. *Israelite blood.* The Jews were the "chosen people" of God, and therefore "saved." Bunyan apparently shared for a time the strange notion, held by not a few then and since, that the "lost tribe" of the Jews founded the English nation.

9. *dilemma.* A dilemma is an argument in logic whereby the adversary is caught between two difficulties, a doubtful choice.

This dilemma is a very reasonable difficulty to those who interpret the Gospel literally, and a familiar one. Christ said, "If you have faith as a grain of mustard seed ye shall say unto this mountain. Remove hence to yonder place and it shall remove, and nothing shall be impossible unto you."

"One day, as I was between Elstow and Bedford, the temptation was hot upon me to try if I had faith by doing some miracle. I must say to the puddles that were in the horse-pads, "be dry," and truly at one time I was agoing to say so indeed......Thus was I tossed between the Devil and my own ignorance." ("Grace Abounding".) Notice the simple, eminently practical conception of faith and religion.

11-12. *to stake......on the event.* To let the event decide whether he was saved or lost. He wagered his hopes of eternal salvation, as one lays a wager (a stake).

13. *the day of grace.* The day when the Holy Spirit came upon Bedford bringing the grace of God to its inhabitants.

15. *converted.* The technical term to indicate the *turning* from sin to righteousness, by the grace of God.

18. *Turks.* Here means Mahomedans. "How can you tell but the Turks have as good Scriptures to prove their Mahomet to be the Saviour, as we have our Jesus?"

20. *maniacal impulse.* The impulse of a maniac, a madman. Observe how Macaulay insists on the *diseased* nature of Bunyan's strange struggles. (P. 22, l. 8-9. and below P. 23, l. 27, the forms which his *disease* took.)

22. *the Valley of the Shadow of Death.* In the "Pilgrim's Progress" Christian, on his way to the Celestial city, passes through the Valley of Humiliation, then through the Valley of the Shadow of Death. It is a dreadful Valley, "dark as pitch," haunted by hobgoblins and dragons, filled with "a continual howling and yelling as of people under unutterable misery" and "the mouth of hell" is in the midst of it. It is a symbol, as Macaulay implies in the following lines, of Bunyan's own struggle for salvation.

The phrase itself is taken from the Bible. (Psalms 23, verse 4.)

26. *the bottomless pit* i. e. hell.

27. *the unpardonable sin.* "Blasphemy against the Holy Spirit," says the Bible, is the one sin that "shall not be forgiven unto men......either in this world or in the world to come." (St. Matthew XII. 31-2.) What exactly constitutes this "blasphemy" is a matter for "curiosity."

31. *to renounce......redemption.* According to Christian doctrine the redemption of the world was the object of the life of Jesus Christ. By the sacrifice of himself, by his death on the cross, he *redeemed* the sins of the whole world, and all men may share in this redemption and benefit by it. Bunyan was tempted to give up his right to redemption by denying Christ.

32-34. *Night and day......Sell him.* "I could neither eat my food, stoop for a pin, chop a stick, or cast my eye to look on this or that but still the temptation would come, "Sell Christ for this, sell Him for that! Sell Him! Sell Him." There is a curious mixture of "sins" in this delusion of Bunyan. There is the thought of the old legends which relate how men have sold their souls to the devil for pleasure and power (Faust, for example) and of the sin of Judas who sold Jesus Christ for money to the Jews. A third vague notion, that of Esau selling his birthright (see page 24) completed his conception of the unpardonable sin. It is not even a rational delusion, for Bunyan was tempted to "sell" Him for nothing!

34. *hobgoblins.* Goblins, supernatural monsters, the "evil spirits" who tempted him, symbols of his evil thoughts. Even such were the dragons who attacked Christian in the Valley of the Shadow of Death.

Page 24. 2. he suffered the fatal words to escape him. "I felt the thought pass through my heart. 'Let him go if he will.'" The words were fatal because in them he had rejected Christ, and blasphemed the Holy Spirit, and committed the unpardonable sin.

3. *his misery.* "Down fell I, as a bird that is shot from the top of a tree, into great guilt and fearful despair."

5. *forfeited.* He had lost his rights, by his evil-doing.

the great sacrifice. Christ's sacrifice of himself, the "propitiation for our sins."

5-6. *Like Esau he had sold his birthright.* The story of Esau, the eldest son of Isaac, who, being hungry and faint, sold his birthright to his younger brother Jacob, is told in the Bible.

"And Jacob said, Swear to me this day, and he swore unto him, and he sold his birthright unto Jacob. Then Jacob gave Esau bread and pottage of lentils and he did eat and drink and rose up and went his way; thus

Esau despised his birthright." (*Genesis* XXV.) The birthright, which Bunyan rejected, is the right of all men to be redeemed by Christ.

6-7. *there was no longer......repentance.* This is a quotation from St. Paul, who writes of Esau: "When he would have inherited the blessing, he was rejected; for he found no place for repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears." (*Epistle to the Hebrews* XII.)

10. *He envied the brutes.* "I blessed the dog and toad.........the dog and horse had no soul to perish under the everlasting weight of hell for sin, as mine was like to do."

11-12. *The sun seemed...from him.* "I saw as if the sun that shineth in the heavens did grudge to give light, as if the very stones in the streets, and tiles upon the houses, did band themselves against me."

12-3. *cast in a sturdy mould,* i. e. of robust build. The metaphor is of molten iron which is poured, or *cast* into a mould or shape.

14. *whole days together.* All day during several days in succession.

15-6. *the sign which God had put on Cain.* Cain was the brother of Abel and the son of Adam. In the Bible, the book of Genesis tells how he killed Abel, and was "the first murderer," how he fled from the sight of God, and how "the Lord set *a mark* upon Cain."

17. *his power of digestion.* This is a common result of excessive emotion, but there was probably some physical disorder.

18-9. *to burst asunder like Judas.* Judas Iscariot, one of the apostles of Christ, betrayed him "for thirty pieces of silver." St. Peter relates his end: "Now this man purchased a field with his reward of iniquity and, falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst, and all his bowels gushed out." (*Acts of the Apostles* I.)

19. *his prototype.* Prototype means the first type, *i. e.* the *original* type or example. Bunyan was a man of the type of Judas, who was the original traitor to Christ.

20. *the books which Bunyan read.* They were nearly all books which would keep his mind upon these morbid thoughts. "Practice of Piety," Foxe's "Book of Martyrs," for example.

The advisers. Such an adviser as the stern Mr. Gifford, his minister, who explained to him that he was a lost sinner and under the wrath of God, or the "ancient man" spoken of below.

23. *Francis Spira.* The story of Francis Spira is told in Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy," as an example of religious melancholy.

"There is a most memorable example of Francis Spira, an advocate of Padua, anno 1545, that being desperate, by no counsel of learned men could be comforted; he felt (he said) the pains of hell in his soul; in all other things he discussed aright, but in this most mad. Excellent Physicians could neither make him eat, drink or sleep, no persuasion would ease him. Never pleaded any man so well for himself as this man did against himself and so he desperately died."

Such a story was most "unseasonable," ill-fitted, for Bunyan in his time of trouble, and apt to discourage him still further.

This account of Spira's case is told at length in a book by one Springer, which came into Bunyan's hands.

The story of Francis Spira was a popular one and frequently printed. I have seen mentions of different books relating his life published in 1553 and again in 1713.

25. *gave opinion.* "I told him that I was afraid I had sinned the sin against the Holy Ghost. He told me he thought so too."

There is something strangely repulsive in the cold brevity of this phrase, "he thought so too." It might well have driven Bunyan to suicide or to the end of Spira.

30. *the clouds broke etc.* Bunyan's troubles are compared to a thunder-storm, and the grace of God to the sun shining out again. "The thunder was gone beyond me," says Bunyan himself.

32. *the first murderer.* See Note, l. 14 above.

33. *the arch traitor.* The *chief* of traitors, *i.e.* Judas.

35-36. *his nerves......recovered their tone.* His nerves are compared to the strings of a musical instrument which when overstrained gives discordant tones.

36. *he joined a Baptist society.* In 1653 he joined a recently formed Baptist dissenting church.

Page 25. 2. *to partake of the Eucharist,* i. e. to join in the celebration of Holy Communion (see Note, "Atterbury" p. 16 line 21). The "Eucharist" means literally, the good or the *holy sacrifice* of Christ, commemorated and symbolized in the Communion.

3. *imprecating.* Literally "praying for" *i. e.* calling down a curse.

4. *the cup.* Containing the consecrated wine, the blood of Christ.

7. *illiterate.* Literally, unable to read or write; here simply uncultivated.

9. *experimental knowledge.* Knowledge got by his own experience.

13. *the vulgar.* Here in its literal sense of "the common people."

"No such preacher to the uneducated English masses was to be found within the four seas." (Froude.)

His fame as a preacher spread rapidly and men, even scholars, came from far to hear him.

15. *tormented by an impulse.* "Sometimes when I have been preaching, I have been violently assualted with thoughts of blasphemy, and roughly tempted to speak the words with my mouth before the congregation."

17. *Counter-irritants.* An artificial *irritant* applied to counter-act an irritation in another part of the body, thereby to distract the attention of the patient and to lessen the suffering.

19. *internal.* Here mental. This persecution was the counter irritant to Bunyan's self-torment.

21. *the Restoration.* In 1660, the commonwealth, or Republican government, came to an end. The Stuart monarchy was *restored* in the person of Charles II.

22. *Cavalier.* Royalist. In the Civil War it was the nickname given to the royalist adherents by the Puritans; literally "horseman." They were mainly churchmen.

23. *to oppress the Dissenters.* With the return to power of the monarchy, the Established Church regained its privileges. The Cavalier

Parliament of 1661 passed the "Act of Uniformity" and the "Corporation Act," which pressed heavily upon those who refused to "conform" to the Church of England, and in accordance with which in 1662 nearly two thousand priests were ejected from their livings and churches. The Conventicle Act was re-enforced, and unlicensed preaching punished. The county magistrates (Cavalier gentlemen) and the clergymen had power to carry out the provisions of these bills.

24. *he was perhaps the most hardly treated.* This is a considerable exaggeration. Many Dissenters, whose names and history are known to us, suffered infinitely more than Bunyan. Bunyan was simply imprisoned to prevent him from preaching abroad, nor was his imprisonment strict. He was allowed to preach to his fellow-prisoners and to write. A Puritan biographer says that "the Lord gave him favour with the keeper of the jail, and he had many indulgences."

Froude, in his "Bunyan," gives a full account of the trial and imprisonment which describes the indulgence of the magistrates. "He compelled the Court to punish him, whether they would or not."

26-27. *intervals ... liberty.* His gaoler at first allowed him even to go to London on occasion. He was released in 1666 but repeated his offence and was re-arrested, and again in the early part of 1672.

28. *His persecutors tried to extort a promise etc.* In other words the magistrates, charged with carrying out the law of Parliament, pleaded with Bunyan to obey that law. Had they wished to *persecute* him, they had the power to banish him at once from the country.

32. *several tribunals.* In Nov. 1660, before Mr. Wingate, magistrate, then before the Quarter Sessions (Justice Keelin presiding) and in 1661 at the Midsummer Assize. (Sir Matthew Hale, says Froude, "was markedly kind.")

35. *hide his gift,* i.e. his faculty of preaching. "The Holy Ghost," says Bunyan, "never intended that men who have gifts and abilities should bury them in the earth."

36. *Alexander the coppersmith.* This man is spoken of by St. Paul in Epistle to Timothy. "Alexander the coppersmith hath done me much harm." He seems to have repented and is represented in the Book of Acts (Chap. 23.) as preaching to the Ephesians.

Page 26. 4. *his neck would be stretched,* i.e. he would be hanged. Bunyan was quite ready to be a martyr.

6. *Year after year he lay in a dungeon etc.* Macaulay accepts the tradition that Bunyan lay in the Town lock-up, for which there is no authority. It is certain that he was imprisoned in the Country gaol, a more comfortable place.

Bunyan himself gives no support to the legend of extreme suffering. He speaks only of what sufferings he *might have* undergone in banishment. His only trouble seems to be for the possible sufferings of his wife and family. Bunyan received friends and visitors in his "dungeon," he wrote his books, and he was allowed to preach to his fellow-prisoners "*and to others who came to hear him.*"

Prisoners, again, who had money, or friends with money, were able to pay for comforts, and it is clear considering Bunyan's other indulgences, that this was not denied him.

9. *his domestic feelings,* i.e. his family affections. "The parting with my wife and children hath been to me as the pulling my flesh from my bones," says Bunyan.

11-12. *several small children, etc.* He had four children by his first wife (he married again in 1658). His daughter, Mary, was blind, and he speaks of "my poor blind child, who lay nearer to my heart than all I had beside." She died before he left the prison.

13-17. *He could not ... bear ... etc.* "Thou must be beaten, must beg, suffer hunger, cold, nakedness, and a thousand calamities, though I cannot now endure the wind should blow upon thee." These sufferings, again, were imaginary. "Friends.. had all along supported him with necessaries, and had been very good to his family." "Though his treasures swelled not to excess," says his biographer of 1700, "he always had sufficient to live decently and creditably."

23. *He gave religious instruction.* Charles Doe, his editor and biographer, heard him preach to sixty dissenters in prison.

"I heard Mr. Bunyan both preach and pray ....Here they could sing without fear of being overheard, no informers prowling round, *and the world shut out.*"

27. *Fox's Book of Martyrs.* John Foxe (1517-1587), a Protestant exile, described in his "Book of Martyrs" the sufferings of the Protestants under the persecution of the Catholic Queen Mary. The book gained great popularity, from the interest of its subject, and was ordered to be set up in all churches, and publicly read, as was the Bible. The original title of the book is "The History of the Acts and Monuments of the Church" (1563), but it is universally known by the popular title "The Book of Martyrs."

29. *a living concordance.* A "concordance" is a full index of words and phrases, referring them to the passages in a book in which they occur.

Bunyan was able to indicate from memory any phrase or passage quoted: he knew the Bible practically by heart.

29-30. *his copy of the Book of Martyrs.* This book (1641 edition) is now in the library of the Bedford Literary Institute. The "doggrel" on the margin, however, is not in Bunyan's writing, as Brown points out.

31. *doggrel.* Mean, irregular, unpolished verse, wherein the swing and the rhyme are everything. Specimens of Bunyan's doggrel may be seen in the note upon page 29, l. 37 and upon page 31, l. 9.

32. *the mystical Babylon.* Babylon symbolizes mystically the Church of Rome, in Puritan phraseology. In the "Book of Revelations" there is mentioned "Babylon the great," the "Mystery," which is compared to an evil "Scarlet woman" sitting on seven hills. These phrases were applied by the Puritans to Rome and the Roman Catholic Church, and were looked upon as prophetical of Rome.

34. *At length he began to write.* Bunyan had begun to write before his imprisonment, against the Quakers in particular.

36. *They were coarse.* Bunyan's language was that of an uncultivated

man of the people, the blunt, homely vernacular. In controversy he wrote in the style of his age, when men wrote as they spoke and spoke as they thought, without restraint, passionately and fiercely.

37. *mother-wit.* Native wit, common-sense.

Page 27. 4. *the spelling.* The spelling in the first edition of the "Pilgrim's Progress" is extremely incorrect.

7. *He wrote sharply against the Quakers.* In 1658 Bunyan wrote "Some Gospel Truths opened," and in 1659, in answer to an attack by Edward Burrough, "A Vindication of Gospel Truths" wherein his language was coarse enough. Both were aimed at the mysticism of Quaker doctrines.

Quakers. "The Society of Friends," as they call themselves, a religious sect, was founded in the middle of the 17th century, be George Fox. They resorted, at this time, to actual physical force to spread their peculiar views, and on one occasion broke up one of Bunyan's meetings.

The nickname "Quaker," *i. e.* "trembler," was applied to this sect in derision, because of their excessive "*trembling* at the word of God."

9. *peculiar fashions.* The Quakers call the days of the week the first (Monday), the second (Tuesday), etc. and count the months of the year in the same way. The ordinary names, they contend, are given in honour of pagan gods (Sunday, the day of the Sun; March, the month of Mars) and are therefore unchristian. Among other "peculiar fashions," they adopt a distinctive costume, call each other "Brother" and "Sister" and in their meetings (they have no appointed ministers) sit in silence till "the spirit moves" one brother or sister to address them.

12. *He wrote against the liturgy.* He wrote against the forms of service and prayer prescribed in the "Book of Common Prayer" of the Church of England. In his "Praying with the Spirit" (1663) he concludes: "Look into the jails of England, and into the alehouses of the same; you will find those that plead for the spirit of prayer in the jail, and them that look after the form of men's inventions only in the alehouse."

18. *The doctrinal articles.* The "Thirty-nine Articles" of faith were drawn up in the reign of Edward VI. in 1552 forming a summary of the doctrines of the Church of England. They are contained in the Prayer Book and all the clergy are obliged to accept them.

19. *Arminian clergymen.* Arminius was the author of the heresy which denied the doctrine of predestination. An Arminian is a follower of this heresy. The word is practically the opposite of Calvinist.

19-20. *who had signed them.* They *signed* the articles when they entered the Church as priests, as the law demands. Bunyan had *not* signed them, yet he defended them.

20. *The most acrimonious of his works,* i. e. the most bitter and fierce.

21. *Edward Fowler,* the rector of Northill, wrote his book "The Design of Christianity." The great Richard Baxter replied, and Bunyan also in his "Defence of Justification by Faith" in 1672. Bunyan speaks of Fowler's "brutish and beastly latitudinarianism": he is "rotten at heart ..one of a gang of rabbling counterfeit clergy, prodigious in blasphemy etc."

Fowler's reply is still less edifying.

22. *Pelagianism.* The heresy of Pelagius who denied the doctrine of of original sin, which is also an essential doctrine of Calvinism.

25. *the sect*, i. e. Baptist community.

26. *the distinguishing tenet*, i. e. the *article of belief* which distinguishes them from other sects. The Baptists believed in "adult baptism," after the manner in which John the Baptist baptized Christ, as opposed to "infant baptism." Bunyan himself was baptized in the river Ouse in 1653.

28. *joined in communion.* Joined in *religious fellowship*, met with them, prayed, worshipped and celebrated the communion with them.

Presbyterians. The Presbyterian church was founded by Calvin, and in Scotland by John Knox where it became the Established Church. Its system of Church government iș different from that of the Episcopal Churches, which are governed by bishops. Each Presbyterian Church is governed by a *presbytery*, and each district by a *synod*.

29. *Independents.* The Independents are now called "Congregationalists." Each of their churches was *independent*, governed by its own *congregation*, free of any episcopal or synodal control. They were powerful in England under the Commonwealth.

30. *A controversy arose.* The "sterner Baptists" believed that a Baptist should "join in communion" only with those of their own faith and sect. Bunyan believed all Christians should "live together in brotherly love.'' He was no rigid sectarian.

32. *the cause etc.*, i. e. the cause of toleration, defended by Bunyan in "Water-Baptism no Bar to Communion."

33. *Kiffin.* Willam Kiffin (1601-1700), a Baptist minister and a prosperous merchant at the same time, was a member of parliament in 1658. A strict Baptist, he wrote in answer to Bunyan "A sober discourse of right to Church Communion" in 1681.

Danvers. Henry Danvers (died 1687), a Baptist, parliamentary soldier, and a politician of some note, also wrote a "Treatise on Baptism" against Bunyan.

34. *Robert Hall* (1764-1831) was a Baptist divine, a famous evangelical preacher, who pleaded the cause of broad-minded toleration in sectarian disputes.

Page 28. 3. *the passions of 1660.* At the Restoration in 1660 there was a violent reaction of feeling against the Puritans and against the republican party, and their leaders were heavily punished by the Cavalier Parliament. One oppression followed another.

8-9. *Like his own Christian... Vanity Fair.* Christian is the hero of the first part of Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress." On his journey he passes with his friend Faithful through the town of "Vanity" at which "there is a fair kept, called Vanity-fair" (*i. e.* worldly life, in which "all is vanity"). The men of the town "took them and beet them...and then put them into a cage, that they might be made a spectacle to all the men of the fair.... Some men in the fair that were more observing and less prejudiced than the rest, began to check and blame the baser sort for their continual abuse......for ought they could see, the men were quiet and sober and intended nobody any harm."

9-10. *The Bishop......interceded for him.* This is a legend which has been misunderstood. Richard Barlow (1607-1691) did not become Bishop of Lincoln (the diocese which contains Bedford) until 1675, while Bunyan was set free in 1672. He probably accepted a bond for Bunyan's behaviour in the early part of 1676, at the end of his *second* imprisonment and thus liberated him.

This side-hit of Macaulay at the opponents of Nonconformity, comparing them all to the worldly crowd of Vanity Fair, is fairly enough applied to Dr. Barlow, whose career was not too creditable in some ways, and whose one thought was preferment.

14-15. *one of the worst acts of one of the worst governments.* The "Treaty of Dover" by the "Cabal" administration of Charles II.

16. *the Cabal.* The word "Cabal" means a secret society. The ministers of Charles II. in 1671 were *C*lifford, *A*slington, *B*uckingham, *A*shley, and *L*auderdale. The initials of these names form the word "Cabal" and this became the nickname of the ministry.

17. *the treaty.* The secret "Treaty of Dover" between Charles II. and Louis of France was signed in May, 1670, at Dover. Charles II. bound himself to close alliance with Louis XIV., to declare himself a Roman Catholic, and to make war, with France, upon Holland.

20. *his prerogative.* The King, in theory, has the absolute power to suspend or dispense with any act of Parliament for a given purpose. In practice he may do so only with the advice of his ministers and the consent of Parliament, according to the vague, unwritten constitution of England.

20-1. *the penal statutes against the Roman Catholics.* The first Act of Parliament inflicting penalties upon Roman Catholics was the "Test Act" of 1563 of Elizabeth, which was followed by others under James I.

22. *he annulled at the same time .....nonconformists.* Charles II. had already in 1662 proclaimed a "Declaration of Indulgence," tolerating all forms of devotion and annuling the "Act of Uniformity" which penalized nonconformists. This he was forced to withdraw in 1664, though in 1663 Parliament had authorized his declaration. Now again in 1672 the second "Declaration of Indulgence" followed whereby "all manner of penal laws against whatever sort of Nonconformists or recusants" were suspended. Catholics were allowed only private worship, however.

25. *he published a tract.* "A Discourse upon Antichrist," in the preface to which he confesses himself "one of the oldfashioned professors that wish to fear God and honour the King." "He is a better Saviour of us than we may be aware of."

26-29. *that Persian king... ..beloved temple.* The "chosen people," the Israelites, had been carried into captivity to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar. The Babylonian, or Chaldean, empire was conquered by Darius the Persian, and his grandson, Artaxerxes, allowed the Israelites, who remained exiled in Babylon, to return to Jerusalem and build again their temple, under the leadership of Nehemiah. The story is told in the books of "Ezra" and "Nehemiah" in the Bible.

The exception of the Roman Catholics from complete freedom in the Declaration of Indulgence might well deceive Bunyan.

31. *the secret designs of the court,* i. e. the ultimate establishment of Catholicism.

34. *Before he left his prison he had begun the book.* In 1675 the "Declaration of Indulgence," under pressure of Parliament, was withdrawn, and the penal statutes against Nonconformists were enforced again. Bunyan was sent to prison again, and lay six months in the town gaol. While there he wrote the first part of "The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to come."

It was not begun before the end of the first long imprisonment (1660-1672) as Macaulay here says, but three years after he left the county gaol.

36. *The author was, as he tells us, writing a treatise.* "The author's Apology," a preface to the "Pilgrim's Progress" in doggerel verse, relates the history of the book.

Page 29. 2-3. *as many others had compared it.* The idea of life as a journey or pilgrimage to heaven, is common enough; the merit of Bunyan lies in the execution of it, in such a vivid, dramatic, picturesque way. He may possibly have heard of Bishop Patrick's "Parable of the Pilgrim" (1663).

6. *quagmires and pits, etc.* All these images are taken from "The Pilgrim's Progress."

quagmires. The Slough of Despond.

7. *dark and horrible glens.* The Valley of Humiliation, the Valley of the Shadow of Death.

8. *a gloomy castle.* "Doubting Castle, the owner of which was Giant Despair."

10. *a town all bustle and splendour.* The town of Vanity.

like London on Lord Mayor's Day. On the 9th of November each year, the new Lord Mayor goes in procession from Westminster to Guildhall. The Lord Mayor's show has lost much of its magnificence in recent years.

11. *the narrow path.* "Straight (narrow) is the path that leadeth unto righteousness."

13. *the Black River.* The River of Death.

the Shining Gate. The gate of the city which shone like gold, the gate of Heaven.

18-19. *what place.........in English literature.* "The most perfect and complex of fairy tales" (Hallam); "one of the noblest of English poems" (J. R. Green); "perhaps the greatest prosewriter of the time, next to Dryden" (Saintsbury).

29. *the Fairy Queen.* "The Faerie Queen" is the great allegorical poem of Edmund Spenser (1552-1599), one of the first names in English literature, "a poet of romance and of beauty."

"The Faerie Queene" (Spencer's own spelling is usually adopted in the name of the poem) tells in allegory of the battles and victories of the Red Cross Knight of Holiness. There is little similarity, save in the subject, between the two books.

26-27. *He would have thought it a sin etc.*

"Neither did I vacant seasons spend
In this my scribble; nor did I intend
But to divert myself in doing this,
From worser thoughts which make me do amiss."
(Author's Apology.)

31. *he returned to the House Beautiful*, i.e. he came back to the joys of writing his book. These places are all to be found on the Pilgrim's way.

32-3. *He had no assistance.* "Some say The Pilgrim's Progress is not mine," he says, but asserts that "The whole and every whit is mine." "It was not to any mortal known till I had done it."

34. *He then consulted his pious friends.* He tells us himself what they said, in his naive, homely verse:

"Well, when I had thus put mine ends together,
I showed them others, that I might see whether
They should condemn them, or them justify:
And some said, Let them live; some, Let them die.
Some said, JOHN, print it, others said, Not so:
Some said, It might do good; others said, No."

35-36. *It was a vain story, etc.* Such were the objections raised to the book by the sterner brethren.

Bunyan discusses these objections one by one in "The Author's Apology" and in his preface, also in doggerel verse, to the Second Part of Pilgrim's Progress."

Page 30. 2. *Will's.* Will's was a famous coffee-house, the coffee-house of all the wits, much frequented by Dryden. It was in Bow Street, near Covent Garden, and took its name from its proprietor Will Urwin.

Macaulay refers here to the heroic romances in prose and verse written in imitaton of the French romances, for the pleasure of polite society, by "persons of quality."

3. *the painted Jezebels of the court.* The loose women of the court of Charles II., which was notorious for its license.

Jezebel, queen of Ahab, king of Israel, is the proverbial type of a wicked and shameless woman. The book of Chronicles tells us how "She painted her face, and tied her hair, and looked out at a window."

9. *he was only following the example.* The example of Jesus Christ, who taught the people by the use of *parables*, or short allegories.

10. *to propose to himself*, i. e. set before himself. The use of the word "propose" is unusual. It has its strict etymological meaning here.

11. *he determined to print.*

"At last I thought, since ye are thus divided
I print it will, and so the case decided."
("Apology.")

12. *the Pilgrim's Progress stole silently into the world.* There is no reason for saying that the book did not attract attention at once. It certainly did. A second edition was demanded within a year.

12-13. *Not a single copy etc.* Southey in his "Life of Bunyan" furnishes this information. Since 1830, however, four copies of the 1st edition have come to light, one of which is in the British Museum.

14. *The year of publication etc.* The first part of "Pilgrim's Progress" was published in the early part of 1678.

16. *sectaries.* Members of his sect, *i. e.,* Baptists.

24. *pleasantry.* Humour. The word "pleasant" had the sense of "humorous" until the 19th Century.

27. *plays and novels were excluded.* Bunyan would have been greatly troubled had he heard his books called novels. He justified them strictly on religious grounds.

29. *the Iliad.* The Iliad is the great Greek epic poem of Homer, which relates the war between Greece and Troy, due to the unfaithfulness of Helen. With its companion poem the "Odyssey" it is the greatest epic in literature.

Don Quixote. "The Adventures of Don Quixote" by Cervantes (1567-1616), the great Spanish novelist, is one of the greatest books ever written. It describes the mock-heroic adventures of a knight whose head has been turned by reading old romances, and who tries to revive ancient chivalry in more modern days.

Othello. "Othello" is looked upon by many as the greatest tragedy of Shakespeare, and therefore the greatest of all tragedies.

These three books are examples of the highest work of genius.

Those, says Macaulay, who have not had the occasion of reading many great books, would be far more moved to admiration by this first great book they read (i. e. Pilgrim's Progress) than an accustomed reader by the greatest of books.

I do not know, however, that an uncultivated reader is so well able to appreciate genius as a cultivated reader. In literary studies it is true that "to him that hath shall be given," nor does "literary luxury" sate the lover of literature.

The Pilgrim's Progress had at all events an immense effect upon its Puritan readers.

32. *the demand became immense.* In one hundred years (1678-1778) there appeared 92 editions, and in Bunyan's lifetime one hundred thousand copies were sold.

35. *in 1684.* In this year was published also the "Second Part."

Page 31. 1. *copper-plates.* In this process of illustration the lines of a picture are engraved on a plate of copper and this plate yields a print when impressed upon paper. The word copper-plate is used to indicate both the original plate, and the print obtained from it.

2. *Apollyon.* Apollyon is a "foul fiend," "clothed with scales as a fish, he had wings like a dragon, feet like a bear, out of him came fire and smoke, and his mouth was as the mouth of a lion." He is Satan or the devil in his most terrible form.

3. *Giant Despair.* Giant Despair finds Christian and Hopeful asleep and imprisons them in his castle, Doubting Castle, wherein he "beat them with a grievous cudgel."

some of the colonies. Three years after publication the Pilgrim's Progress was reprinted by the Puritan colony in America.

5. *Bunyan has told us.* In the metrical preface to the Second Part (1684).

"Tis in New England under such advance,
Receives there so much loving countenance,
As to be trimmed, new clothed, and decked with gems
That it may show its features and its limbs,
Yet more, so public doth my Pilgrim walk,
That of him thousands daily sing and talk."

6. *New England.* New England forms now the North-East States of the United States. This Puritan colony was founded in 1606 under a charter from James I.

8-9. *He had numerous admirers in Holland and …… France.*

"In France and Flanders, where men kill each other,
My Pilgrim is esteemed a friend, a brother.
In Holland too, 'tis said, as I am told
My Pilgrim is with some worth more than gold."

The "Pilgrim's Progress" was translated into French and Dutch in 1682.

the Huguenots. "Huguenot" was the name given to the Protestants in France, during the Wars of Religion, in the 16th and 17th centuries.

11. *Knavish booksellers …… under his name.*

"Tis true, some have of late, to counterfeit
My Pilgrim, to their own my title set;
Yea others, half my name and title too
Have stitched to their books, to make them do;"

12. *scribblers.* Writers, with a contemptuous sense.

16-17. *He continued to work the Gold-field etc.* The "gold-field," in Macaulay's metaphor, is the new literary form, the religious allegory, which Bunyan had discovered for himself and the "treasures" are his books written in this form.

Virgin soil, *i.e.* untouched, unexplored. Bunyan's first effort, the Pilgrim's Progress, was also his greatest.

21. *the second part.* This second part describes the Pilgrimage of Christiana, Christian's wife, and her children.

22. *the Holy War.* The Holy War was published in 1682.

Its full title is "The Holy War made by Shaddai against Diabolus for the regaining of the Metropolis of the World, or, the Losing and Taking again of the Town of Mansoul."

It describes the war between God (Shaddai) and the Devil (Diabolus) for the possession of the *soul* of a *man.*

23-24. *would be the best allegory ever written.* This is one of Macaulay's most famous literary judgments. There is, however, in general opinion, a wide difference between the two allegories. "The Holy War" lacks all the vivid reality and character-painting of the Pilgrim's Progress. The subject moreover is not so well fitted for allegory, and has little variety of interest. Yet the book is one of undeniable power and fascination.

25. *Bunyan's place in society.* He had been appointed pastor of the Baptist congregation of Bedford in 1671, and became the acknowledged head of the whole community. He was now, moreover, in easy circumstances.

30. *Bishop Bunyan.* This name, fiirst applied in irony, became an honour to Bunyan.

31. *episcopal visitations.* A Bishop of the Church visits the various

parts of his diocese from time to time. So Bunyan visited the various Baptist congregations throughout the country.

Page 32. 2. *in the year 1685, he was in danger.* In 1685 Bunyan, fearing imprisonment and confiscation, made over his whole estate to his wife.

3-4. *the rash and wicked enterprise of Monmouth.* In June, 1685, James, Duke of Monmouth, the illegitimate son of Charles II., made an altogether unsuccessful attempt to dethrone James II. As he claimed to represent Protestant revolt against a Roman Catholic king, suspicion fell upon the Nonconformist element.

7. *persuasion.* Opinion, faith or sect.

Baxter. Richard Baxter (1615-1691), one of the great names among Nonconformists, was a clergyman of the Church of England, who sacrificed a probable bishopric to his conscience. A voluminous writer, his best known work is the famous "Saint's Rest."

8. *Howe.* John Howe (1630-1705) had been chaplain to Cromwell. He was engaged in constant controversy, though one of the most tolerant of Nonconformists. He was driven out of the country by the insults of the populace of London.

Henry. Philip Henry, an eminent Nonconformist divine, had already been imprisoned in 1663 for conspiraçy and was now in prison at Chester in 1685.

10. *in controversy.* Upon the question of communion with non-Baptist. (See Note on page 27, l. 36.)

12. *The tradition etc.* This is a mere tradition, one of the many legends that grow round the name of a popular hero. Bunyan was not the man to disguise himself, or to avoid arrest.

16-17. *James the Second was at open war with the church.* See "Life of Atterbury," Page 1, ll. 17-21 and Note.

17-8. *to court the Dissenters.* The Church being opposed to him, he determined to gain the support of the other great party, the Dissenters.

"He was willing to offer them......the bribe of freedom from their disabilities and of triumph over the Church which had oppressed them." (Lodge.)

18-19. *Some of the creatures......the aid of Bunyan.* In 1687 the King used his control over the municipal corporations to replace Churchmen with Whigs and Dissenters. While remodelling that of Bedford the name of Bunyan was proposed to the king as likely to be of assistance, and it appears that some place under Government was offered as an inducement. Bunyan, we are told, refused. (See below l. 37.) It is to be noted that in 1688 Bunyan was domestic chaplain to the new dissenting Lord Mayor of London, though it is not clear if this was an official appointment.

20. *he had written etc.* He wrote in praise of the indulgence proclaimed by Charles II. (See Page 28, l. 28, Note.)

21-2. *the Indulgence of 1687.* In April 1687, James II. issued a Declaration of Indulgence similar to that of Charles II., but more extensive. It allowed public worship to all sects, including the Roman Catholics. A second followed a year later.

26-27. *The object of James's Indulgence was patent.* His object was clearly and openly to restore Catholicism, for already James had been promoting Catholics to office on a large scale.

30-31. *The courtier who came down etc.* See Note on ll. 24-5 above. Probably the Earl of Ailesbury.

"When a great man in those days, coming to Bedford......sent for him, as it is supposed to give him a place of public trust, he would by no means come at him, but sent his excuse." (Anonymous continuation of "Grace Abounding.")

35. · *he undertook to plead the cause of a son.* The son, who was at Bedford, wrote to Bunyan in London, asking him to go to Reading to make peace for him with his father. On his way back towards the end of this long journey on horseback, a storm of rain overtook him. He took a a severe chill and fever followed when he arrived at London, and he died ten days after on August 31st 1688.

Page 33. 2. *his lodgings on Snow Hill.* Bunyan was staying at the house of his friend, John Strudwick, a grocer "at the sign of the Star, Snowhill" near Holborn Bridge.

4. *He was buried in Bunhill Fields.* He was buried in Strudwick's family vault in this cemetery. Bunhill Fields was then called Moorfields.

17. *any writer of eminence.* Dr. Johnson said of it that the most cultivated man cannot find anything to praise more highly. It was one of the very few books that he wished longer. Swift praised it, and Horace Walpole compared Bunyan to Spenser whom he called "John Bunyan in rhyme."

18. *Young.* Edward Young (1681-1765), a clergyman and philosophic poet, author of the famous "Night Thoughts."

A "fine writer" and declamatory poet like Young was not likely to appreciate the more homely beauties of Bunyan.

the wretched D'Urfey. Tom D'Urfey (1653-1723), a voluminous songwriter, whose name has become proverbial for scurrility and coarseness. His plain vernacular style is compared to Bunyan's.

19. *the Spiritual Quixote.* "The Spiritual Quixote" (1772) by Richard Graves, written in imitation of "Don Quixote," satirizes the Puritan religion in the person of Mr. Wildgoose, a young convert who wanders about the country accompanied by Jeremiah Tugwell, a village cobbler.

20. *Jack the Giant-Killer.* Jack is the hero of a well-known old English fairy-tale, the title of which indicates his career.

21. *John Hickathrift,* the hero of another old story, was a labourer of great strength, who slew a giant in Norfolk with a cart wheel, was knighted and made Governor of Thanet in the days of the Conqueror.

Cowper. William Cowper (1731-1800), the poet of "The Task," the work by which he is best known. His poems were written mostly in the intervals between periods of madness.

> "Ingenious dreamer, in whose well-told tales
> Sweet fiction and sweet truth alike prevail;
> Whose humourous vein, strong sense and simple style
> May teach the gayest, make the gravest smile;

Witty and well-employed ; and like thy Lord,
Speaking in parables his slighted word :
I name thee not, lest so despised a name
Should move a sneer at thy deserved fame."

22-23. *It is a significant circumstance etc.* The cheapness of the editions shows that there was little demand for the book among the moneyed classes, but only among the comparatively poor. There were no "subscription editions."

28-29. *the opinion of the educated minority prevails.* The opinion of the educated few itself is rarely the same as that of the educated few a hundred years later.

The educated minority tries to judge the literary merit of a book, the common people judge mainly by the immediate interest of its matter, In this case it was very difficult, in the age of refined writing, to appreciate the real merits of Bunyan's book.

35. *done into verse.* Brown mentions sixteen versions, the first already in 1698.

into modern English. By the Rev. Joshua Gilpin in 1811, "in which the phraseology of the author is somewhat improved "!

36. *The Pilgrimage of Tender Conscience.* This " Pilgrimage " is often attached to editions of the book, and was published as being Bunyan's own work, the third part which he promised to write.

the Pilgrimage of Good Intent IN JACOBINICAL TIMES was a political allegory by Miss Burgess, aimed against the principles of the French Revolution, at the beginning of the 19th century.

Page 34. 1-2. *the Pilgrimage of Theophilus* TO THE CITY OF GOD and "The Infant's Progress " by Mrs. Sherwood in 1823.

8. *Antinomians.* The word means those who are *against the laws.* The Antinomians believed that one of the "elect" could do no wrong, and was therefore beyond the laws of morality. They were extreme Calvinists. (See Note on l. 16.)

Calvinism. The doctrines of Calvin, the great leader of the Geneva Protestants.

9. *the pilgrimage of Hephzibah.* "The Female Pilgrim, or the Travels of Hephzibah " (1762).

11. *free agency and universal redemption.* Free will to choose between good and bad, to choose or reject grace, and the salvation of all mankind, were both doctrines opposed to Calvinism. According to the Calvinist system only the *elect* (the chosen of God) were saved and the fate of all men is *predestined* by God from the beginning, whether they shall be *elect* or *reprobate*, saved or damned. A man cannot be saved by good works, but only by the will of God.

12. *Vandalism.* Reckless destruction or disfigurement. The Vandals were one of the Northern races who overran the Roman Empire in the fifth century and sacked Rome. There they fell upon and ruined many fine works of art, careless of their beauty. The term " Vandal " is applied to those who have no thought of art or who difigure works of art.

14. *as the year 1853.* "The Pilgrim's Progress of John Bunyan for the Use of Children in the English Church," edited by the Rev. J. M. Neale,

was published at Oxford in 1853.

15. *a Tractarian book.* A book supporting the Tractarian Movement, or the Oxford Movemnt as it is often called. This movement was a Catholic reaction on the part of a large section of the English Church, led by Newman and Pusey. It began about the year 1833, when the "Tracts for the Times" which advocate their views, and from which the movement took its name, began to appear.

16. *the two sacraments.* Baptism and the Communion or Eucharist. The Tractarians, or High Churchmen, laid great stress upon the holiness and necessity of the Sacraments, and upon their power to save.

18. *Quakers excepted.* The Quakers rejected all the outer and visible symbols and forms of religion.

Bunyan was etc. Bunyan was extremley tolerant of the sacraments, but did not consider them, apparently, as fixed forms to be adhered to. Adult Baptism and Infant Baptism he allowed alike. In the catechism of Christian's children in the Second Part, by Prudence, there is no reference whatever to the Sacraments.

20. *the Wicket Gate.* A wicket gate is a small, barred gate. It is represented as the Gate through which the Pilgrim must pass at the beginning of his journey. ("Strive to entĕr in at the strait," said Christ.) For Bunyan it had no further special meaning. The Tractarians represented it as Baptism, whereby we become "a child of God" and take the first step in religious life.

21. *the House Beautiful.* The "House Beautiful" is a place of rest for pilgrims, where they refresh themselves for the journey through the Valley of Humiliation and the Valley of the Shadow of Death. There is nothing essentially incongruous in the comparison with the Eucharist. Bunyan himself suggests the comparison. In the House there is prepared for the Pilgrim's supper a *Lamb,* which symbolizes Christ's sacrifice, and medicine is given to Christiana's son "made ex carne et sanguine Christi," of the flesh and blood of Christ. (Pilgrim's Progress, Second Part.) But nothing was further from Bunyan's mind than Mr. Neale's interpretation of these words.

23-24. *not a single pilgrim passes.........in infancy.* Christiana passes with fairy young children, at any rate.

25. *Faithful.* This companion of Christian is eventually burnt at the stake in Vanity Fair and is carried off in a chariot to the Celestial City.

30. *a Pædobaptist.* Literally "a child-baptizer," i. e. one who believes in infant baptism. Bunyan shows no signs in the book of his belief in adult baptism.

30-32. *To turn his book.........Anglo-Catholic divine.* Macaulay refers here to the "lesson" that he draws from this new version of "Pilgrim's Progress." Since no child passes through the Wicket (though this is inexact, as I have said) and the Wicket in this version represents Baptism, therefore only adults are to be baptized.

He points out the irony of the situation. An Anglo-Catholic, *i.e.* an Anglican clergyman, whose faith is that of the Catholic Church, who therefore insists on the sanctity of infant baptism, has turned "Pilgrim's Progress" into an argument against that very belief which he wishes to enforce.

OLIVER GOLDSMITH.

The Life of Goldsmith is one of the five biographies which Macaulay contributed in his later years to the eighth edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica. Referring to these biographies, Mr. Adam Black, the then proprietor of the Encyclopædia Britannica, wrote:

"It is entirely to his friendly feeling that I am indebted for these literary gems, which could not have been purchased with money; and it is but justice to his memory that I should record, as one of the many instances of the kindness and generosity of his heart, that he made it a stipulation of his contributing to the Encyclopædia, that remuneration should not be so much as mentioned."

Page 35. 1. *pleasing.* The term is chosen to express the most obvious merit of Goldsmith's writings. Something undisputed must be here stated. Therefore greater qualities such as originality, depth, power are not assumed. Similarly the biography of Johnson begins with the assumption of eminence.

One of the most pleasing. . . . . "He was assuredly a Great Writer. In the fifteen years over which his literary activity extended, he managed to produce a record which has given him an unassailable position in English letters. Apart from mere hack work and compilation—hack work and compilation which, in most cases, he all but lifted to the level of a fine art—he wrote some of the best familiar verse in the language. In an age barren of poetry, he wrote two didactic poems, which are still among the memories of the old, as they are among the first lessons of the young. He wrote a series of essays, which for style and individuality, fairly hold their own between the best work of Addison and Steele on the one hand, and the best work of Charles Lamb on the other. He wrote a domestic novel, unique in kind, and as cosmopolitan as 'Robinson Crusoe.' Finally he wrote two excellent plays, one of which, 'She Stoops to Conquer,' still stands in the front rank of the few popular masterpieces of English comedy." (*Austin Dobson.*)

2-3. *Protestant and Saxon.* Descriptive respectively of religion and race. The term Protestant is derived from a *protest* made by Luther and his followers in the German Reformation. The Irish remained Roman Catholics.

3. *Saxon.* Goldsmith was an Englishman (as distinguished from an Irishman), though born in Ireland. To the earlier Britons the English or Anglo-Saxon invaders were known only as Saxons; and *Sassenach*, or other Celtic form of the word Saxon, is still the name for Englishmen and their language alike in Wales, the Scottish Highlands, and Ireland.

The name Saxon implies that all the Teutonic invaders (Angles, Jutes, Friesians, Saxons) were supposed to come from one region of North Germany where there is still a kingdom of Saxony.

3. *Settled.* A term of colonisation. The English Government endeavoured to plant colonies in Ireland in the hope of securing more peaceful and settled life. Goldsmith's ancestors had been in Ireland for perhaps two centuries.

4. *Other Protestant and.* Note Macaulay's frequent repetition of terms for the sake of clearness or emphasis. Such a practice, when overdone, is called a mannerism.

5. *In troubled times.* During war, or religious strife, or disturbances.

Put in fear. Put into a state of prolonged terror. Macaulay has failed to find one word which would fully express his idea.

6. *Native population.* The Irish; called 'native' because they have been in the country for a very much longer period. The population, however, includes a still older aboriginal element. The Irish are the same people as the Gaels of the north and west of Scotland. They are allied to the Welsh; and perhaps, though much more remotely, to the Saxons and other tribes of northern Europe. The familiar opinion that they are Celts is now disputed.

His father, Charles Goldsmith. It is partly on his character that the celebrated descriptions of the father of the Man in Black in the *Citizen of the World*, of the village preacher of the *Deserted Village*, and of the hero of the *Vicar of Wakefield* are based. Note here how in one sentence his history is given.

7. *Diocesan.* Adj. from 'diocese,' the territory under a bishop's jurisdiction. Through Fr. and L. from Gr. *dioikesis*, administration, a province, diocese.

Elphin. A town in Roscommon, Ireland, 15 miles north of Roscommon. It is the seat of a bishopric.

8. *Became attached to the daughter*..
"In May, 1718, he, (Goldsmith's father) had married Anne, the daughter of the Reverend Oliver Jones, who was master of the school at Elphin." (*Forster.*)

9. *Took orders.* Entered the Christian ministry; became a clergyman. In the English Church there are three 'orders' or ranks of clergymen—deacons, priests or presbyters, and bishops.

Pallas, or Pallasmore, in the county of Longford, "a lonely, remote, and almost inaccessible Irish village."

10. *With difficulty supported*.........He "starved along for several years on a small country curacy, and the assistance of his wife's friends. His whole income, eked out by the produce of some occasional duties performed for his wife's uncle, the rector of an adjoining parish, did not exceed forty pounds." (*Irving.*)

Compare the celebrated description of the village preacher in the *Deserted Village* beginning with:

"A man he was to all the country dear,
And passing rich with forty pounds a year."

12. *Curate.* A clergyman holding office under a rector or vicar. L. L. *curatus*, one intrusted with the care of souls, from L. *cura*, care.

13. *November, 1728.* The date of his birth as given in Johnson's epitaph, viz. 29th November, 1731, is inaccurate.

14. *That spot was ...... remote.* "He was born at a small old parsonage house in a lonely, remote and almost inaccessible Irish village on the southern banks of the river Inny, called Pallas." Note Macaulay's powers of illustration.

15. *The busy and splendid Capital.* London.

16. *Clearing.* A place or tract of land cleared of wood for cultivation.

Upper Canada. Prior to 1857 the provinces of Ontario and Quebec were called Upper Canada and Lower Canada, or Canada West and Canada East, respectively.

Sheep-walk. A tract of considerable extent where sheep feed; better known in Australia as a sheep-run.

Australasia. The general name given to the countries situated to the south east of Asia, including Australia, New Zealand, New Guinea, etc. *Australasia* is not to be confounded with *Australia.*

18. *Pilgrimage.* A journey to a shrine or other sacred place. Here the word is used figuratively of a visit to a historic spot. So also *Enthusiasts*, i. e. ardent admirers, contains a religious idea.

20. *Hamlet.* The village of Pallas. Dimin. of 'home.'

22. *Jaunting car.* A light two-wheeled vehicle, very popular in Ireland, having two seats extended back to back over the low wheels for the accommodation of passengers, a compartment between the seats, called the well, for the receipt of luggage, and a perch in front for the driver.

23. *Rut.* The hollow track made by a wheel in passing over the ground.

Slough. A hollow full of mire, chiefly in a road.

25. *Presented.* Nominated, appointed.

26. *A living* The rectory of Kilkenny West to which he succeeded in 1730 on the death of his wife's uncle. A *living* is an ecclesiastical office by virtue of which the incumbent has the right to enjoy certain church revenues and has thus the means of living.

27. *The family.* The first-born Margaret (1719) had died in childhood; so when the family moved to Lissoy, it consisted of Catherine, Henry, Jane and Oliver, a child of about 1½ years. After the move to Lissoy were born: Maurice, Charles and John. John died in youth. Charles went in his twentieth year a friendless adventurer, to Jamaica, and after long self-exile died in 1804. Maurice was put to the trade of a cabinet-maker, kept a meagre shop in Charlestown, and departed from a miserable life in 1792. Henry, Oliver's "earliest friend," followed his father's calling, and died as he had lived, a humble village preacher and schoolmaster, in 1768. Catherine married a wealthy husband, Jane a poor one, and both died in Athlone, some years after the death of Goldsmith.

29. *Lissoy.* "In the county of Westmeath, barony of Kilkenny West, some six miles from Pallasmore."

"This was the scene of Goldsmith's boyhood, the little world whence he drew many of those pictures, rural and domestic, whimsical and touching, which abound throughout his works, and which appeal so eloquently both to the fancy and the heart. Lissoy is confidently cited as the original of his 'Auburn' in the 'Deserted Village.'" (*Irving.*)

His letters. The alphabet, and first reading.

Page 36. 1. *A maid-servant.* Elizabeth Delap, "a trusted dependant in Charles Goldsmith's house, a young woman related to the family, afterwards known as Elizabeth Delap and schoolmistress of Lissoy, first put a book into Oliver Goldsmith's hands. She taught him his letters; ...... and at the ripe age of ninety, when the great writer had been thirteen years in his grave boasted of it with her last breath, 'Never was so dull a boy: he seamed impenetrably stupid,' said the good Elizabeth Delap". (*Forster.*)

2. *Quarter-master.* An officer in the army who has charge of the quarters, barracks, tents, etc. of a regiment, and keeps the stores. Goldsmith's teacher was one Thamas (or, as he was commonly and irreverently named, Paddy) Byrne, retired quarter-master of an Irish regiment that had served in Marlborough's Spanish wars. Goldsmith is supposed to have had him and his school in view in the following sketch in his *Deserted Village*:

"Besides yon straggling fence that skirts the way,
With blossomed furze unprofitably gay,
There, in his noisy mansion, skilled to rule,
The village master taught his little school.
A man severe he was, and stern to view;
I knew him well, and every truant knew;
Well had the boding tremblers learned to trace
The day's disasters in his morning face;
Full well day laughed, with counterfeited glee,
At all his jokes, for many a joke had he;
Full well the busy whisper, circling round,
Conveyed the dismal tidings when he frowned.
Yet he was kind; or, if severe in aught,
The love he bore to learning was in fault;
The village all declared how much he knew;
'Twas certain he could write, and cypher too;
Lands he could measure, terms and tides presage,
And even the story ran that he could gauge.
In arguing, too, the parson owned his skill,
For even tho' vanquished, he could argue still;
While words of learned length and thundering sound
Amazed the gazing rustics ranged around;
And still they gazed, and still the wonder grew,
That one small head could carry all he knew."

Half pay. A reduced allowance (seldom literally half of the full pay) paid to an officer when not in actual service, or after retirement at the end of a prescribed term.

5. *Banshees.* In the folklore of the Irish, a *banshee* is a female fairy who makes herself known by wailings and shrieks, before a death in the family over which she exercises a kind of guardianship. Gael. *beaushith*; from Gael. *beau*, a woman, *sith*, a fairy.

Rapparee Chiefs. A *rapparee* is an armed Irish plunderer. The word 'Rapparees' was especially applied to the bands of Irish led by dispossessed proprietors who refused to submit to the Cromwellian transplantation to Connaught, and carried on a guerilla warfare against the new English possessors. Irish *repaire*, a noisy fellow, sloven, robber, thief.

6. *Baldearg O'Donnell.* He was the descendant of an ancient Celtic race and served in the Spanish army. About 1688, he escaped to Ireland aud with 8,000 Ulster men came to the assistance of the garrison at the first siege of Limerick. After the defeat of the Irish at Aghrim and the capitulation of Limerick he went over with 1,200 men to King William, having secured pardon and £500 a year.

7. *Peterborough.* Charles Mordaunt, third Earl of Peterborough (*b.* 1668, *d.* 1735). In 1705 he was appointed to the command of an army of Dutch and English soldiers in Spain where he began the extraordinary campaign which has made his name famous in history.

Stanhope. James, first Earl Stanhope (1673-1721). He commanded the Allies against the French in Spain in 1710 and in his retreat from Madrid, he was defeated and taken prisoner by Vendom at Brihuega.

The surprise of Monjuich. The strong fort of Monjuich on the south side of Barcelona wrs surprised and captured by Peterborough in 1705.

8. *Glorious disaster of Brihuega.* The battle of Brihuega (1710) was a great defeat sustained by the English under Earl Stanhope during the War of the Succession in Spain.

10. *Irish language.* For three hundred years past Irish has been gradually giving way to English. At present there is an active movement of restoration.

11. *Unpremeditated.* Not previously thought of; impromptu.

Irish verses. "Another trait of his motley preceptor, Byrne, was a disposition to dabble in poetry, and this likewise was caught by his pupil. Before he was eight years old, Goldsmith had contracted a habit of scribbling verses on small scraps of paper. Some of these verses were conveyed to his mother. The good woman read them with a mother's delight, and saw at once that her son was a genius and a poet. Hence it was that Oliver, instead of being instructed in some humble, but cheerful and gainful handicraft, was devoted to poverty and the muse." (*Irving.*)

14. *Compositions of Carolan.* Turlogh Carolan, the most famous of the modern Irish bards, was born at Newtown in 1670. In his eighteenth year he was seized with small-pox, and totally deprived of sight. This misfortune led to his becoming a professional bard or itinerant minstrel. The number of Carolan's musical pieces, to nearly all of which he composed verses, is said to exceed 200. He died in 1738.

He forms the subject of one of Goldsmith's minor essays where he is spoken of as "at once a poet, a musician, a composer, and sung his own verses to his harp. The original natives never mention his name without rapture: both his poetry and music they have by heart."

16. *Englishry.* In Ireland, the word is applied to the population of English descent. The same suffix is seen in Jewry.

Connected by numerous ties. Goldsmith's father, his brother, and his uncle Contarine were clergymen of the English Church.

17. *Established Church.* Church of England; the church established and endowed by law as the Church of Ireland; now since 1869, disestablished.

19. *The ruling minority in Ireland.* The English official and governing element. An Established Church is naturally in alliance with Government.

21. *The subject majority.* The Irish, most of whom were Roman Catholics.

21. *The Caste.* The governing English. The word 'caste' is of Portuguese origin.

22. *The Glorious and Immortal Memory.* William III., who was toasted in these words by the Orangemen and the Protestants of Ireland. William III. by defeating James II. at the battle of Boyne secured the Protestant ascendency.

24. *Maintained that nothing ...* Perhaps Macaulay was thinking of the follwing conversation recorded by boswell.

" We talked of the King's coming to see Goldsmith's new play.—'I wish he would,' said Goldsmith; adding, however with an affected indifference, 'Not that it would do me the least good.' Johnson: 'Well then, Sir, let us say it would do *him* good (laughing). No, Sir, this affectation will not pass: it is mighty idle. In such a state as ours who would not wish to please the chief magistrate?' Goldsmith: 'I *do* wish to please him. I remember a line in Dryden,

And every poet is the monarch's friend.

It ought to be reversed.' Johnson: 'Nay, there are finer lines in Dryden on the subject :—

For colleges on bounteous kings depend,
And never rebel was to arts a friend.'

"General Paoli observed, that successful rebels might. Martinelli: 'Happy rebellions.' Goldsmith: 'We have no such phrase." General Paoli: 'But have you not the *thing*?' Goldsmith: 'Yes, all our *happy* revolutions. They have hurt our constitution, and will hurt it, till we mend it by another happy revolution."

25. *The banished dynasty.* The Stuart dynasty.

26. *Academy.* A place of instruction, a school, usually a High School. Originally, a public pleasure-ground of Athens, consecrated to Athene and other deities, containing a grove and gymnasium where Plato and his followers held their philosophical conferences; hence applied to any association of adepts for the promotion of literature, science or art; established sometimes by Government and sometimes by the voluntary union of private individuals. (Gr. *Akademia*, the name of the garden near Athens where Plato taught.)

28. *Grammar-schools.* (1) The school at Elphin, of which his grandfather had once been master; (2) the school at Athlone kept by a Mr. Campbell; and (3) the one at Edgeworthstown where he remained for nearly four years, preparing for the university under the care of the Rev. Patrick Hughes.

A 'grammar-school' is a school in which learned literature is taught; specifically, one in which Latin and Greek are chief subjects of instruction.

The ancient languages. Greek and Latin.

31. *knowle.* Knole, the magnificent seat of Lord Sackville, in Kent. The portrait of Goldsmith is by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

32. *The small-pox.* . . . . . "An attack (1735) of confluent small-pox which nearly proved mortal left deep and indelible traces on his face, for ever settled his small pretension to good-looks, and exposed him to jest and sarcasm." (*Forster.*)

Page 37. 1. *Butt.* One who is made the object of ridicule. Compare, "The well-known butt of many a flinty joke."

2. *Fright.* A person of a shocking, disagreeable, or ridiculous appearance in person or dress.

Dunce. Doctor Strean, a contemporary of Goldsmith, said, "He was considered by his contemporaries and school-fellows as a stupid, heavy blockhead, little better than a fool, whom every one made fun of."

The history of the word "dunce" is interesting. Originally it occurred in the phrase *Duns man*, that is a follower of *Duns* (also written *Dunce*), whose full name was John Duns Scotus, a celebrated scholastic theologian, called the 'Subtle Doctor.' He died in 1308. His followers called Scotists, held control of the universities till the Reformation set in, when the reformers and humanists, regarding them as obstinate opponents of sound learning and of progress, and their philosophy as sophistical and barren, applied the term *Duns man*, which at first meant simply a Scotist, to any cavilling, sophistical opponent; and so it came finally to mean any dull, obstinate person.

4. *Derided.* Ridiculed; made the object of mockery or ridicule.

Ransacked their memory for. Tried their utmost to recollect. 'Ransack' is from (Icel.) *rannsaka*, from *rann*, house, *saka*, seek.

5. *Repartee.* A ready, witty, or apt reply; quick, sharp rejoinder. The following instance of Goldsmith's power of repartee is recorded. At a dance in his uncle's house, the musician made merry at his expense, dubbing him his little Æsop. Goldsmith (then nine years old) was nettled by the jest, and, stopping short, in the hornpipe, exclaimed:

Our herald hath proclaimed this saying,
See Æsop dancing, and his monkey playing.

10. *Seventeenth year.* This is inaccurate. He was admitted to Trinity College, Dublin, as a poor scholar, on the 11th of June, 1744, being then fifteen. In the *Lives* of Forster and Prior, the year of admission is given as 1745; but this has been shown by Dr. J. F. Waller to be an error. (*Austin Dobson.*)

Trinity College. The great educational institution of Dublin, founded in 1591. Many distinguished men are counted among the *alumni* of Trinity.

11. *Sizar.* The name of an order of students at Cambridge University and Trinity College, Dublin, so called from the allowance of victuals (*size*) made to them from the college huttery. Duties of a somewhat menial kind, such as waiting upon the fellows at table, were originally required of the sizars, but these have long since gone into disuse.

13. *Long been relieved.* "About fifty years since, on a Trinity Sunday, a number of persons were assembled to witness the college ceremonies; and as a sizar was carrying up a dish of meat to the fellows' table, a burly citizen in the crowd made some sneering observation on the servility of his office. Stung to the quick, the highspirited youth instantly flung the dish and its contents at the head of the sneerer. The sizar was sharply reprimanded for this outbreak of wounded pride, but the degrading task was from that day forward very properly consigned to menial hands." (*Irving.*)

16. *The rulers of the society.* The provost and fellows of the college.

19. *Parts.* Talents; powers; superior endowments. Cf. "Men of great parts are often unfortunate in the management of public business, because they are apt to go out of the common road by the quickness of their imagination." (*Swift.*)

20. *The woolsack* is the name given to the seat (a large square bag of wool covered with red cloth) of the Lord Chancellor of England in the House of Lords. It is said that when, in the reign of Elizabeth, an act of Parliament was passed to prevent the exportation of wool, woolsacks, whereon the judges sat, were placed in the House of Lords to keep in mind the staple manufacture of the realm.

The episcopal bench. A collective designation for the seats occupied by the bishops, as lords spiritual, in the House of Lords. The meaning of the sentence is that boys less gifted than Goldsmith have become Lord Chancellors and bishops.

22-3. *Neglected the studies.* "His tutor was devoted to the exact sciences; Goldsmith was for the classics. Wilder (his tutor) endeavoured to force his favourite studies upon the student by harsh means. . . . . The effect was to aggravate a passive distaste into a positive aversion. Goldsmith was loud in expressing his contempt for mathematics and his dislike of ethics and logic; and the prejudices thus imbibed continued through life. Mathematics he always pronounced a science to which the meanest intellects were competent." (*Irving.*)

23. *Stood low at the examination.* "As his name stood lowest in the list of sizars with whom he was originally admitted, so it stands also lowest in a list still existing of the graduates who passed on the same day." (*Forster.*)

24. *Was turned down. . . .* "An anecdote, 'often told in conversation to Bishop Percy,' exhibits the sizar at his usual disadvantage. Wilder (his tutor) called on Goldsmith, at a lecture, to explain the centre of gravity, which, on getting no answer, he proceeded himself to explain: calling out harshly to Oliver at the close, 'Now, blockhead, where is *your* centre of gravity?' The answer which was delivered in a slow, hollow, stammering voice, and began 'Why, Doctor, by your definition, I think it must be'—disturbed every one's centre of gravity in the lecture room; and turning the laugh against Wilder, *turned down* poor Oliver." (*Forster.*)

25. *Was severely reprimanded.* See the next note.

26. *Pumping on a constable.* "A report was brought to college that a scholar was in the hands of the bailiffs. This was an insult in which every

gownsman felt himself involved. A number of the scholars flew to arms, and sallied forth to battle. . . The stronghold of the bailiff was carried by storm, the scholar set at liberty, and the delinquent catchpole borne off captive to the college, where, having no pump to put him under, they satisfied the demands of collegiate law by ducking him in an old cistern." (*Irving.*)

A brutal tutor. The Rev. Theaker Wilder.

In Oxford, Cambridge and Dublin the work of teaching is mainly entrusted to tutors who are resident fellows of the colleges and in charge of students.

27. *Giving a ball,* on his winning a college prize of thirty shillings.

Attic story. A half-story next the roof of a building.

31. *Leaving a mere pittance.* His pecuniary supplies, always doubtful, had become more uncertain since his father's death, and now consisted chiefly of intermittent contributions from his kindhearted Uncle Contarine and of petty loans from his schoolmates. He would pawn his books of study and "write street-ballads to save himself from actual starving; sell them at the Rain-deer repository in Mountrath-court for five shillings a-piece; and steal out of the college at night to hear them sung."

Pittance. A meagre allowance.

31-2. *Obtained his bachelor's degree,* on February 27, 1749.

33. *The humble dwelling* at Ballymahon.

34. *In his twenty-first year.* "There is reason to believe," remarks Prior, "that at this time he followed no systematic plan of study."

35. *Do something.* Enter on some occupation or prepare for some profession.

Page 38. 1. *Dress himself in gaudy colours.* "He was fond," says one of his contemporaries, "of exhibiting his muscular little person in the gayest apparel of the day, to which was added a bagwig and sword."

Once at a dinner given by Boswell to his friends, Goldsmith betrayed himself into this weakness. The following diverting account of it is in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*:—" Goldsmith strutted about bragging of his dress, and I believe was seriously vain of it, for his mind was wonderfully prone to such impressions. 'Come, come,' said Garrick, 'talk no more of that. You are perhaps the worst—eh, eh!' Goldsmith was eagerly attempting to interrupt him, when Garrick went on, laughing ironically, 'Nay, you will always *look* like a gentleman; but I am talking of being well or *ill drest.*' 'Well, let me tell you,' said Goldsmith, 'when my tailor brought home my bloom-coloured coat, he said, 'Sir, I have a favour to beg of you. When anybody asks you who made your clothes, be pleased to mention John Filby, at the Harrow, in Water Lane.' Johnson: 'Why, Sir, that was because he knew the strange colour would attract crowds to gaze at it, and thus they might hear of him, and see how well he could make a coat even of so absurd a colour.' "

2. *Magpie.* A chattering bird, of a genus allied to the crow, with pied or coloured feathers. It has a propensity to seize and carry off bright and glittering articles and hide them.

Airs. Tunes, melodies.

3. *Flute.* A musical wind instrument into which the player blows while there are holes for the fingers. Lat. *flare.*

To angle. To fish with a hook and line. Cf. Irving's remark about angling in *The Sketch-Book*: "There is certainly something in angling that tends to produce a gentleness of spirit." Izaak Walton's *Complete Angler* is an English classic.

4. *By the fire.* To fireside parties in the evenings.

5. *Applied for ordination.* Goldsmith was forced by his uncle to prepare for holy orders. But he had a settled repugnance to a clerical life.

Ordination. Admission to the Christian ministry.

6. *Applied in scarlet clothes.* . . . . "He was rejected by the bishop," writes Irving, "some say for want of sufficient studious preparation; his rambles and frolics with Bob Bryanton, and his revels with the club at Ballymahon, having been much in the way of his theological studies; others attribute his rejection to reports of his college irregularities, which the Bishop had received from his old tyrant Wilder; but those who look into the matter with more knowing eyes, pronounce the scarlet breeches to have been the fundamental objection."

7. *Episcopal palace.* The official residence of a bishop is usually called a 'palace.' 'Palace' is from L. *palatium,* originally a building on the *Palatine* hill at Rome; especially a palace of Augustus on this hill. Episcopal is from Gr. *episkopos* an overseer, whence 'bishop.'

In an opulent family. In the family of a Mr. Flinn.

9. A *dispute about play.* He charged a member of the family with unfair play at cards. A violent altercation ensued, which ended in his throwing up his situation as tutor.

11. *Cork.* A town and port in the south of Ireland.

13. *Hack.* A horse kept for hire, especially a poor one. He sold the good horse and bought a bad one.

Informed his mother in a long letter which "is believed to be authentic; but" says Mr. Austin Dobson, "it is more than suspected that romance has coloured the narrative. He had gone to Cork, it says, sold his horse, and taken a passage for America. But the ship sailed without him when he was junketing in the country, and he remained in Cork until he had but two guineas left. Thereupon he had invested in 'that generous beast, Fiddleback,' and turned Ballymahonwards with a residuum of five shillings in his pocket, half of which went promptly to a poor woman he met on the road."

14. *Fair wind.* A good opportunity of sailing. As yet there were no steamers and sailing ships were dependent on the wind.

16. *A generous kinsman.* His uncle Contarine.

19. *He then thought of medicine.* It was rather Dean Goldsmith of Cloyne who suggested that he 'should now try physic.'

19-20. *A small purse.* . . . The money 'was furnished from the scantier purses of Goldsmith's brother, his sister (Mrs. Hodson) and his ever-ready uncle Contarine.' (*Irving.*)

20-21. *Was sent to Edinburgh.* His arrival at Edinburgh was distinguished by a characteristic adventure. "Having taken lodgings at haphazard, he left his trunk there, containing all his worldly effects, and sallied forth to see the town. After sauntering about the streets until a late hour, he thought of returning home, when to his confusion, he found he had not acquainted himself with the name either of his landlady, or of the street in which she lived. Fortunately, in the height of his whimsical perplexity, he met the cawdy or porter, who had carried his trunk, and who now served him as a guide."

21. *Eighteen months.* These would include two winter or main sessions and an intervening summer session.

22. *Nominal.* The term implies that there was little real study.

23. *Natural history.* Originally the description of all that is in nature, now used of the sciences that deal with the earth and its productions — botany, zoology, and mineralogy, especially zoology.

24. *Leyden.* A town in Holland. It is the seat of a celebrated university which formerly attracted students from all parts of Europe, including Sir Thomas Browne, Boswell, John Wilkes, and numbered amongst its professors some of the greatest names in the world of learning. It was founded in 1575 by William of Orange as a reward to the citizens for their heroic defence against the Spaniards from 1573 to 1574.

Pretending to study physics. After spending two winters at Edinburgh, he prepared to finish his medical studies on the continent. In a letter to his uncle Contarine, he expresses a wish " to visit Paris, where the great Farheim, Petit, and Du Hammel de Monceau instruct their pupils in all the branches of medicine. . . . . I shall spend the spring and summer in Paris, and the beginning of next winter go to Leyden. The great Albinus is still alive there, and 'twill be proper to go, though only to have it said that we have studied in so famous a University." Medical instruction, it would appear, was the ostensible motive for this visit to the continent, but the real one, in all probability, was his long-cherished desire to see foreign parts.

25. *Physics.* Medicine. Only the singular fotm is now used in this sense.

He left that celebrated university. (Having remained there about a year, attending the lectures of Gaubios on chemistry, and Albinus on anatomy), " with a guinea in his pocket, one shirt to his back, and a flute in his hand."

30. *He rambled on foot. . . . .* This idea seems to have been suggested to Goldsmith by the career of Baron de Holberg, a Danish writer much talked of at the time. The career of Holberg was that of a man of obscure origin, to whom literature, other sources having failed, had given great fame and high worldly station. In his *Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning* Goldsmith writes of him thus :—" His ambition was not to be restrained, or his thirst of knowledge satisfied until he had seen the world. Without money, recommendation, or friends, he undertook to set out upon his travels, and make the tour of Europe on foot. A good voice, and a trifling skill in music, were the only finances he had to support an undertaking so extensive ; so he travelled by day, and at night sung at the doors of peasants' houses to get himself a lodging. In this manner, while yet very young, Holberg passed through France, Germany, and Holland."

With exactly the same resources, still also very young, Goldsmith quitted Leyden, bent upon the travel which his *Traveller* has made immortal.

Flanders. Included in the modern kingdom of Belgium.

Switzerland. Here he formed his first design of the *Traveller*, and here, in Geneva, probably, he saw Voltaire.

31. *Playing tunes*. . . . Cf. the following autobiographical passage from *The Vicar of Wakefield*: "I had some knowledge of music, with a tolerable voice, and now turned what was my amusement into a present means of subsistence. I passed among the harmless peasants of Flanders, and among such of the French as were poor enough to be very merry; for I ever found them sprightly in proportion to their wants. Whenever I approached a peasant's house towards nightfall, I played one of my most merry tunes, and that procured me not only a lodging, but subsistence for the next day." In the *Traveller* he writes of France:

> "How often have I led thy sportive choir
> With tuneless pipe, besides the murmuring Loire!
> And haply, though my harsh touch faltering still,
> But mock'd all tune, and marr'd the dancer's skill;
> Yet would the village praise my wondrous power,
> And dance, forgetful, of the noontide hour.
> Alike all ages. Dames of ancient days
> Have led their children through the mirthful maze,
> And the gay grandsire, skill'd in gestic lore,
> Has frisk'd beneath the burthen of three-score."

33. *As far as Italy*. The country beyond Switzerland. It is believed that Goldsmith was also in Germany, perhaps before reaching Switzerland.

34. *Not to the taste of the Italians*. The Italians had higher skill.

35. *Convents*. Religious houses, monasteries, etc.

Page 39. 1. *Veracity*. Truth-speaking; a special form of the virtue of truthfulness.

5. *As to assert in print*. Macaulay refers to the following passage in Goldsmith's *Memoirs of M. de Voltaire*: "The person who writes this Memoir, who had the honour and pleasure of being his [Voltaire's] acquaintance, remembers to have seen him in a select company of wits of both sexes at Paris, when the subject happened to turn upon English taste and learning. Fontenelle, who was of the party, and who being unacquainted with the language of authors of the country he undertook to condemn, with a spirit truly vulgar began to revile both. Diderot, who liked the English, and knew something of their literary pretensions, attempted to vindicate their poetry and learning, but with unequal abilities. The company quickly perceived that Fontenelle was superior in the dispute, and were surprised at the silence which Voltaire had preserved all the former part of the night, particularly as the conversation happened to turn upon one of his favourite topics. Fontenelle continued his triumph till about twelve o'clock, when Voltaire appeared at last roused from his reverie. His whole frame seemed animated. He began his defence with the utmost elegance mixed with spirit, and now and then let fall the finest strokes of raillery upon his antagonist; and his harangue lasted till three in the morning. I must confess that, whether from national partiality, or from the

elegant sensibility of his manner, I never was so much charmed, nor did I ever remember so absolute a victory as he gained in this dispute." Though the above account is not correct in all details, it is not necessary to conclude that Goldsmith had *not* seen and heard Voltaire. The reference to Fontenelle is manifestly incorrect.

6. *Voltaire.* A brilliant French writer (1694-1778), distinguished as historian, poet, and dramatist.

7. *Fontenelle.* An eminent French writer (1657-1757) who attempted wellnigh every form of literature and wrote poems, plays, and moral and scientific works, which were formerly held in high estimation. In England he is best known by his *Moral Discourses* and his *Dialogues of the Dead,* written after the manner of Lucian.

8. *Certain that. . . .* Voltaire left Paris for Berlin in 1750. He did not return till 1778 when he obtained a triumph, just before his death. In 1755 he is believed to have been in Geneva. Afterwards he lived at Ferney.

12. *Calling.* Profession, or occupation.

13-14. *Obtained. . . . a doctor's degree.* "At Louvain, tradition affirms, he obtained, that 'authority to slay,' the degree of M. B., later appended to his name. But the records of the University of Louvain were lost in the wars of the Revolution, and the statement cannot be verified." (Austin Dobson.) It is also asserted that Goldsmith received his degree at Padua (though in this case also the official records are lost).

It seems improbable that Goldsmith could have obtained a Degree as his means were insufficient for the fee, nor does the time allow the necessary residence.

University of Padua. In Italy one of the oldest and most celebrated universities of Europe, founded by the emperor Frederick II. in the 13th century: especially famous for its faculties of law and medicine.

18. *His face and figure.* Of his personal appearance Goldsmith himself says (in a letter to his brother):—"You scarcely can conceive how much eight years of disappointment, anguish, and study have worn me down. Imagine to yourself a pale, melancholy visage, with two great wrinkles between the eyebrows, with an eye distinguishingly severe, and a big wig." And Boswell says of him that "his person was short, his countenance coarse and vulgar, his deportment that of a scholar awkwardly affecting the easy gentleman."

19. *Boards.* The stage.

20. *Pounded drugs.* "He applied at one place, we are told, for employment in the shop of a country apothecary; but all his medical science gathered in foreign universities could not gain him the management of a pestle and mortar." (*Irving.*)

Ran about London. . . . . "He went among the London apothecaries, and asked them to let him spread plasters for them, pound in their mortars, run with their medicines: but they, too, asked him for a character, and he had none to give." (*Forster.*)

21. *He joined. . . .* "Many years afterwards, in the days of his social elevation, he (Goldsmith) startled a polite circle at Sir Joshua Reynold's, by humorously dating an anecdote about the time he 'lived

among the beggars of Axe Lane.' " (*Irving.*)

22. *Nest.* Haunt.

He was. . . . usher. . . . "In the 'Vicar of Wakefield' Goldsmith makes George Primrose undergo a whimsical catechism concerning the requisites for an usher. 'Have you been bred apprentice to the business?' 'No.' 'Then yon won't do for a school.' 'Can you dress the boy's hair?' 'No.' 'Then you won't do for a school.' 'Can you lie three in a bed?' 'No.' 'Then you will never do for a school.' 'Have you a good stomach?' 'Yes.' 'Then you will by no means do for a school.' 'I have been an usher in a boarding school myself, and may I die of an anodyne necklace, but I had rather be under-turnkey in Newgate. I was up early and late: I was browbeat by the master, hated for my ugly face by the mistress, worried by the boys.' " (*Irving.*)

Usher. An under-teacher or assistant in a school. This is a special meaning. Otherwise, the term denotes a servant who has charge of a door, or who introduces strangers. Lat. *ostium*, a door.

23. *Miseries and humiliations.* In the *Bee*, No. 6, Goldsmith writes to the usher thus: "He is generally the laughing-stock of the school. Every trick is played upon him; the oditty of his manner, his dress or his language, is a fund of eternal ridicule; the master himself now and then cannot avoid joining in the laugh; and the poor wretch eternally resenting this ill usage, lives in a state of war with all the family."

25. *A bookseller's hack.* The bookseller was one Griffiths, proprietor of the "Monthly Review," to which Goldsmith contributed at a small fixed salary, with board and lodging.

A 'hack' is a literary drudge (whose income varies as the amount of writing he can execute in a certain time).

26. *New yoke more galling.* "He had to write daily from nine o'clock until two, and often throughout the day; whether in the vein or not, and on subjects dictated by his tax-master, however foreign to his taste; in a word, he was treated as a mere literary hack. But this was not the worst; it was the critical supervision of Griffiths and his wife which grieved him. This literary vassalage, however, did not last long. The bookseller became more and more exacting. He accused his hack writer of idleness; of abandoning his writing-desk and literary workshop at an early hour of the day; and of assuming a tone and manner *above his situation*. Goldsmith, in return charged him with impertinence; his wife, with meanness and parsimony in her household treatment of him, and both of literary meddling and marring. The engagement was broken off at the end of five months, by mutual consent, and without any violent rupture." (*Irving.*)

Galling. Irritating.

27. *An usher again.* At the Peckam Academy, kept by Dr. Milner, "known still as the author of Latin and Greek grammars useful in their day."

He obtained a medical appointment. . . . It was through the influence of Dr. Milner that Goldsmith was appointed physician and surgeon to one of the factories on the coast of Coromandel. The salary was but trifling, namely £100 per annum; but the practice of the place generally amounted to 'not less than one thousand pounds per annum.'

33. *Surgeons' Hall.* The College of Surgeons. The term Hall for College is still used in certain cases.

Mate. Assistant.

36. *Third part of a bed.* See above the note on "He was, ... usher . . . . "

Was no more. "The worthy schoolmaster" died in 1758.

Page 40. 1. *The lowest drudgery of literature.* Speaking of the life led by hack writers of the time of Goldsmith, Macaulay elsewhere says: "Even the poorest pitied him; and they well might pity him. For if their condition was equally abject, their aspirings were not equally high, nor their sense of insult equally acute. To lodge in a garret up four pair of stairs, to dine in a cellar among footmen out of place, to translate ten hours a day for the wages of a ditcher, to be hunted by bailiffs from one haunt of beggary and pestilence to another, from Grub Street to St George's Fields and from St. George's Fields to the alleys behind St. Martin's church, to sleep on a bulk in June, and amidst the ashes of a glass-house in December, to die in a hospital, and to be buried in a parish vault, was the fate of more than one writer who, if he had lived thirty years earlier, would have been admitted to the sittings of the Kitcat, or the Scriblerus Club, would have sat in Parliament, and would have been entrusted with embassies to the High Allies; who if he had lived in our time, would have received from the booksellers several hundred pounds a year."

Took a garret. "Conjectures have, indeed, been advanced concerning these habitations of literature, but without much satisfaction to the judicious inquirer. Some have imagined that the garret is generally chosen by the wits as most easily rented; and concluded that no man rejoices in his aerial abode, but on the days of payment. Others suspect, that a garret is chiefly convenient, as it is remoter than any other part of the house from the outer door, which is often observed to be infested by visitants, who talk incessantly of beer, or linen, or a coat, and repeat the same sounds every morning, and sometimes again in the afternoon, without any variation, except that they grow daily more importunate and clamorous, and raise their voices in time from mournful murmurs to raging vociferations. This eternal monotony is always detestable to a man whose chief pleasure is to enlarge his knowledge, and vary his ideas. Others talk of freedom from noise, and abstraction from common business or amusements; and some, yet more visionary, tell us that the faculties are enlarged by open prospects, and that the fancy is more at liberty, when the eye ranges without confinement." (Johnson, *Rambler.*)

A *garret* is that part of a house which is on the upper floor, immediately under the roof.

In a miserable court. Green Arbour Court, "a tiny square, which extended from the upper end of the Old Bailey into Seacoal Lane, and was approached on that side by a steep flight of stone stairs (of which Ned Mard has chronicled the dangers) called Breakneck Steps."

Washington Irving, who visited it, found it a small square of tall and miserable houses, the very intestines of which seemed turned inside out, to judge from the old garments and frippery that fluttered from every window. 'It appeared,' he says in his *Tales of a Traveller,* 'to be a region of washerwomen, and lines were stretched about the little square, on which clothes were dangling to dry.' The disputed right to a wash-tub was going on when he entered; heads in mob-caps were protruded from every window; and the loud clatter of vulgar tongues was assisted by the shrill pipes of swarming children, nestled and cradled in every procreant chamber of the hive.

3. *Fleet Ditch.* The Fleet is a tidal stream which flowed by the western wall of old London City. The creek took its rise in the clay beds east of the Hampstead Hills. At Battle Bridge, near King's Cross, it entered a deep valley between high clay banks, from which it did not emerge until it reached the river. The brook is now a main sewer of London, and empties into the Thames at Blackfriars Bridge. The allusion to the Fleet Ditch in the literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is accounted for by the fact that the water from the bed of the brook or river having been diverted from its course, the offal, etc., thrown into it was not carried off, and became a nuisance. In a well-known passage in the *Dunciad,* Pope refers to it:

> "Fleet Ditch with disemboguing streams
> Rolls the large tribute of dead dogs to Thames,
> The king of dykes than whom no sluice of mud
> With deeper sable blots the silver flood."

Flagstones are broad, flat stones suitable for foot-pavements. Here they make a sort of star.

5. *Old Londoners.* Old men still living who have spent their lives in London.

6. *Adventurer.* One who has gone abroad in search of fortune or has attempted unusual methods of obtaining success.

Galley-slave. A convict sentenced to labour at the oar of a galley.

9. *Articles for reviews*.........He contributed to Smollett's *British Magazine* (in which appeared one of his earliest essays—the admirable 'Reverie at the Boar's Head Tavern in East Cheap'), and wrote for Newbery's paper, the *Public Ledger,* his series of imaginary Chinese Letters afterwards collected under the general title of *The Citizen of the World.* He also contributed to *The Bee, The Lady's Magazine, The Busy Body,* and Griffith's *Monthly Review.*

Review is the name given to certain periodical publications, consisting of a collection of critical essays on subjects of public interest, literary, scientific, political, moral or theological, together with critical examinations of new publications.

Magazine is the name given to pamphlets periodically published, containing miscellaneous papers or compositions. The earliest publication of this kind in England was the "Gentleman's Magazine," which was first issued in 1731 by Edward Cave, under the pseudonym of "Sylvanus Urban," and is still continued, though now entirely changed in character.

10. *Children's books.* Newbery was the first publisher to make a speciality of children's books, of which Macaulay in his *Essay on Milton* speaks as "those pasteboard pictures invented by the friend of children,

Mr. Newbery, in which a single moveable head goes round twenty different bodies, so that the same face looks out upon us successively, from the uniform of a hussar, the furs of a judge, and the rags of a beggar." It is not known what share Goldsmith had in the production of these children's books.

11. *Wood-cuts.* Prints from engravings in wood.

12. *Far-famed shop.* The bookshop of John Newbery (1713-1767), a London bookseller, renowned in nursery literature for his picture-books for children. He settled in London in 1744, and was the first publisher of small story-books for children. In 1758 he started the "Universal Chronicle or Weekly Gazette," in which the "Idler" appeared. In 1760 he commenced lhe "Public Ledger," nothing less than a Daily Newspaper in which "The Citizen of the World" first appeared.

13. *An Inquiry ... ... in Europe.* This was put forth anonymously in April 1759, and was fairly well received. As Black remarks, it is "neither more nor less than an endeavour to prove that criticism has in all ages been the deadly enemy of art and literature, coupled with an appeal to authors to draw their inspiration from nature rather than from books, and, varied here and there by a gentle sigh over the loss of patronage."

15. *Life of Beau Nash* was published in 1762. Mr Black says: "Among the minor writings of Goldsmith there is none more delightful than this: the mock-heroic gravity, the half-familiar contemptuous good nature with which he composes this Funeral March of a Marionette, are extremely whimsical and amusing. And then what an admirable picture we get of fashionable English society in the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Bath and Nash were alike in the heyday of their glory—the fine ladies with their snuffboxes, and their passion for play, and their extremely effective language when they got angry; young bucks come to flourish away their money, and gain by their losses the sympathy of the fair; sharpers on the look-out for guineas, and adventurers on the look-out for weak-minded heiresses; duchesses writing letters in the most doubtful English, and chairmen swearing at any one who dared to walk home on foot at night." Richard Nash, better known as 'Beau Nash,' and sometimes called the 'King of Bath,' (from the watering-place of that name, where he was master of ceremonies) was an English leader of fashion. He conducted the pageant at an entertainment given by the Inns of Court to William III. Much of the success of Bath was due to his efforts. He was a professional gambler. He died at Bath, February 3, 1762.

17. *History of England.* A small work in two volumes, entitled the 'History of England, in a series of Letters from a Nobleman to his son.' It was digested from Hume, Rapin, Carte, and Kennet. The work, like many others written by him in the earlier part of his literary career, was anonymous, because as Goldsmith said: "Whenever I write anything, I think the public *make a point* to know nothing about it." The nobleman was supposed to be Lord Chesterfield, so refined was the style; Lord Orrery had also the credit of it, and so had Lord Lyttelton. According to Irving, it has been well-pronounced "the most finished and elegant summary of English history in the same compass that has been or is likely to be written."

19. *Sketches of London Society......* The reference is to the "Chinese Letters," which Goldsmith contributed to the *Public Ledger*, a daily newspaper started in 1760 by Newbery. These were remodelled and republished under the title of the *Citizen of the World* in 1762. In this delightful series of essays, written with the object of letting us see ourselves as others (might) see us, appear the famous "Man in Black" and the incomparable "Beau Tibbs." "Few works," it has been observed, "exhibit a nicer perception, or more delicate delineation of life and manners. Wit, humour, and sentiment, pervade every page; the vices and follies of the day are touched with the most playful and diverting satire; and English characteristics, in endless variety, are hit off with the pencil of a master."

24. *Emphatically*. Distinctly.

25. *Popular*. For the people at large, not for the learned or critical or scholarly.

Accurate research. Scientific examination of the sources of history or facts of science.

Grave disquisition. Serious philosophical dissertation or reflection. Macaulay is thinking of such a style as Hallam's.

28. *Desultory* "is from *de* and *salto*, 'to leap from one thing to another,' as a man who, in the ring, technically called a *desultor*, riding two or three horses at once, leaps from one to the other." *Trench*.

30. *Retained*. I. e., in memory.

Page 41. 2-3. *His style was always pure......* Cf. "In prose style, as in poetic, it is noticeable that Goldsmith has little in common with his great contemporaries, with their splendid bursts of rhetoric, and Latin pomp of speech, but that he goes back to the perfect plainness and simple grace of the Queen Anne men. He aims at a straightforward effect of pathos or of humour, accompanied, as a rule, with a colloquial ease of expression, an apparent absence of all effort or calculation." (*Gosse.*)

By 'style' Macaulay here means the use and arrangement of words or the formation of sentences. A style is called *pure* when it is free from foreign words or idioms, and from colloquialisms and barbarisms; that is to say when the words are correctly used and the sentences are formed according to the law and idiom and genius of the language. It is *easy* when the words flow easily and are readily understood, all harshness, and obscurity and prolixity being avoided. These qualities, which are faundmental elements of perspicuity and grace, are never wanting; and the additional merit of strength or effectiveness is found where it is needed. This quality Macaulay describes by the words *pointed* and *energetic*. Pointed is concise and polished and epigrammatic, with the aid of antithesis or balance and of wit or sarcasm. Energetic or vigorous is a condition produced or promoted by clearness and brevity reinforced by strong feeling or ardent animation.

4. *His narratives......* Macaulay now proceeds to write not of sentence-structure, but of the general character of Goldsmith's composition.

He refers to three kinds of composition—narrative, descriptive, and humorous, all of which may be found in a historical work and even in essays.

The epithet applied to his narrations is "amusing;" by which, according to earlier usage, Macaulay means not comical or laughable but interesting and agreeable. His *descriptions* are *picturesque*; that is to say, they are graphic and have the same effect on the mind as a picture: the scene is presented to the mind's eye. His *humour* (seen in the *Vicar*, or the Plays, or the Essays and occasionally in the Histories) is said to be *rich* (*i. e.* abundant or deep, not far-fetched or superficial, or artificial) and *joyous* (not cynical or satirical but genial and sympathetic, the humour of one who loves mankind and enjoys life), with the additional quality of a tincture of 'amiable sadness.' This phrase is something of an oxymoron, but many writers speak of a soothing or pleasing melancholy. Cf. Shelley, in the *Skylark*—

"Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thought."

7. *Serious or sportive.* Grave or gay (*i.e.* witty, comical).

8. *Grace and decorum.* Elegance and propriety.

10. *Merry-andrew.* A clown or buffoon.

14. *Introduced to Johnson.* In 1761.

14-16. *Johnson .... the first of living English writers.* "Samuel Johnson, born in 1709, was the last representative of the literary king, who, like Dryden and Pope, held a court in London. Poor and unknown, he worked his way to fame, and his first poem the *London*, 1738, satirised the town where he loved to live. His longer and better poem, *The Vanity of Human Wishes*, was published in 1749, and his moral power was never better shown than in its weighty verse. His one play, *Irene*, was acted in the same year. He carried on the periodical essays in the *Rambler*, 1750-52, but in it, as afterwards in the *Idler*, grace and lightness, the essence of this kind of essay, were lost. Driven by poverty, Johnson undertook a greater work: the *Dictionary of the English Language*, 1755, and his celebrated letter to Lord Chesterfield concerning its publication gave the death-blow to patronage, and makes Johnson the first of the modern literary men who, independent of patrons, live by their pen and find in the public their only paymaster. He represents thus a new class. In 1759 he set on foot the Didactic Novel in *Rasselas*. For a time he was one of the political pamphleteers, from 1770 to 1776. As he drew near to his death his *Lives of the Poets* appeared as prefaces to his edition of the poets in 1781, and lifted biography into a higher place in literature. But he did even more for literature as a converser, as the chief talker of a literary club, than by writing, and we know exactly what a power he was by the vivid *Biography*, the best in our language, which James Boswell, with fussy devotedness, made of his master in 1791." (*Stopford Brooke.*) Smollett dubbed John son 'the great Cham of literature.'

16. *Reynolds.* Sir Joshua Reynolds (*b.* July 1723, *d.* February 1792). Perhaps the greatest of English portrait-painters. His "Discourses on Painting" are well written and still reprinted. He founded the Literary Club in 1764, and was First President of the Royal Academy.

17. *Burke.* Edmund Burke (1729-1797) stood high with his contemporaries as orator, politician, and author, and time has hardly abated his reputation. He still ranks as the most eloquent of British publicists, and

with the possible exception of Bacon, the most philosophical of English statesmen.

[His first great pamphlet, *Observations on the Present State of the Nation* (1769) was a reply to George Grenville; *On the causes of the Present Discontents* (1770) treats of constitutional questions. Perhaps the finest of his many efforts are the speech on *American Taxation* (1774), the speech on *Conciliation with America* (1775), and the *Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol* (1777). His *Reflections on the French Revolution* (1790) reached an eleventh edition in a year, was read all over Europe, and powerfully encouraged its rulers in strenuous resistance to the Revolution. This was followed by other pamphlets on the same theme.]

18-9. *The eloquence of his conversation.* Of Burke, Johnson remarked: "Yes, Burke *is* an extraordinary man. His stream of mind is perpetual. Again, "That fellow calls forth all my powers. Were I to see Burke now it would kill me."

22. *Literary Club.* "Soon after his (Johnson's) return to London, which was in February, was founded that Club which existed long without a name, but at Mr. Garrick's funeral became distinguished by the title of the Literary Club. Sir Joshua Reynolds had the merit of being the first proposer of it, to which Johnson acceeded; and the original members were: Sir Joshua Reynolds, Dr. Johnson, Mr. Edmund Burke, Dr. Nugent, Mr. Beauclerk, Mr. Langton, Dr. Goldsmith, Mr. Chamier, and Sir John Hawkins. They met at the Turk's Head, in Gerrard Street, Soho, one evening in every week, at seven, and generally continued their conversation till a pretty late hour." (Boswell's *Life of Johnson.*)

27. *In . . . Inns of Court.* Wine-Office Court, Fleet Street. He then took chambers in the Temple, "that classic region rendered famous by the Spectator and other essayists, as the abode of gay wits and thoughtful men of letters." (*Irving.*)

The *Inns of Court* are the premises occupied by the legal societies in London which have the exclusive privilege of calling candidates to the bar, and maintain instruction and examinations for that purpose. They are the Inner Temple, Middle Temple, Lincoln's Inn, and Gray's Inn. *Chambers* are rooms. (Lat. *camera.*)

28-9. *Towards the close.* "How Johnson was summoned to the author, held in durance of his landlady for rent—how the manuscript of the novel was produced, and sold by the Doctor for sixty pounds—has often been told, and retold. Unluckily, considerable confusion has been imported into this picturesque and time-honoured incident by the discovery, in recent years, that Goldsmith had disposed of a third share in this very book, as early as October 1762, to Benjamin Collins, the Salisbury printer, who subsequently printed it. How this inconvenient fact is to be reconciled with the canonical tradition is not clear; at all events an explanation is not at present forthcoming." (*Austin Dobson.*)

30. *Sheriff's officer.* A bailiff. Sheriff, a compound of *shire* and *reeve,* was originally the chief officer of a county.

35. *Railing.* Using insolent language.

36. *Madeira.* A reach wine of the sherry class made of a mixture of black and white grapes in Madeira, a Portuguese island off the northwest

coast of Africa.

Page 42. 2. *Novel.* The *Vicar of Wakefield.*

3. *Johnson glanced..* Here as in the second sentence of page 36 we have five sentences combined. The details can be naturally grouped, and thus Johnson's services are briefly and pointedly told.

4. *A bookseller.* Francis Newberry.

5. *The rent......* Note again two brief rapid strokes.

6. *According to one story.* See note on page 41, ll. 28-29.

8. *According to another.* Viz. the following account given by Mrs. Piozzi.

"I have forgotten the year, but it could scarcely, I think, be later than 1765 or 1766, that he was *called abruptly from our house after dinner*, and returning *in about three hours*, said he had been with an enraged author, whose landlady pressed him for payment within doors, while the bailiffs beset him without; that he was *drinking himself drunk* with Madeira, to drown care, and fretting over a novel which, when *finished*, was to be his *whole fortune*, but *he could not get it done for distraction*, nor could he step out of doors to offer it for sale. Mr. Johnson, therefore, sent away the bottle, and went to the bookseller, recommending the performance, and *desiring some immediate relief*; which when he brought back to the writer, *he called the woman of the house directly to partake of punch, and pass their time in merriment*."

9. *Punch.* An alcoholic drink composed of wine or spirits, flavoured usually with lemon or orange, and commonly diluted with water. So called as generally consisting of *five* (Hind.-*panch*) ingredients.

11. *The Vicar. . . .* The position at the end of the sentence directs special attention.

13. *Crisis.* Turning point, when he suddenly emerged from obscurity. Originally the turning point of an illness.

14. *The Traveller.* "In plan *The Traveller* is a perfect example of an eighteenth-century didactic or descriptive poem in heroics. The person who speaks the verses—Goldsmith himself in his Swiss exile—sits pensively on an Alpine rock, and moralises on the condition and the limitations of European society. The poem pleased Goldsmith's contemporaries." (*Gosse.*)

15. *The first work to which he had put his name.* "Goldsmith being mentioned, Johnson observed that it was long before his merit came to be acknowledged; that he once complained to him, in ludicrous terms of distress, 'Whenever I write anything, the public *make a point* to know nothing about it:' but that his *Traveller* brought him into high reputation." (*Boswell.*)

16. *English Classic.* A writer of acknowledged excellence or permanent merit in the English knowledge.

17. *The opinion. . . . .* Johnson said of it, "There has not been so fine a poem since Pope's time." But, as Mr. Gosse remarks, "this was a mistake. *The Traveller* is far from being so good a poem as the *Churchyard Elegy* or even the *Vanity of Human Wishes*, but it is a delicate and pathetic piece of idealism in highly-finished verses."

19. *The Dunciad* is well known as Pope's masterly satire upon the poetasters of his day. The fourth book was published in 1742, and Colley Cibber was enthroned as the King of Dunces instead of Theobald, the original hero.

20. *Designs were bad.* The plan or scheme as mentally devised is in Goldsmith's other works inferior. This is Macaulay's opinion stated strongly on account of his passion for antithesis.

21. *Execution good.* The carrying out of the design, including the expression, is superior. This includes the excellences of style.

23. *Philosophical poem.* Johnson suggested as a title, "The Philosophic Wanderer," but Goldsmith preferred something simpler. Philosophical here means reflective or didactic, not scientific or speculative. Wordsworth regarded his *Excursion* as a philosophical poem.

Plan. The plan of the poem may have been suggested to some extent by Addison's *Letter from Italy* (1701); and some slight resemblance has been pointed out to the *Nature of Man*, by Blackmore (died 1729); but for the most part it represents Goldsmith's own experiences. It is described in the next sentence, which should be carefully studied.

25. *Seated on a crag among the Alps.*

"E'en now, where Alpine solitudes ascend,
I sit me down a pensive hour to spend;
And, placed on high above the storm's career,
Look downward where an hundred realms appear—
Lakes, forests, cities, plains, extending wide,
The pomp of kings, the shepherd's humbler pride."

26. *Three great countries.* France, Germany, Italy.

30. *The conclusion.*

"In every government, though terrors reign,
Though tyrant kings or tyrant laws restrain,
How small, of all that human hearts endure,
That part which laws or kings can cause or cure!
Still to ourselves in every place consigned,
Our own felicity we make or find."

These words are partly due to Johnson.

That our happiness depends. . . . "At the end of the poem Goldsmith enunciates the paradox that the happiness of a nation is not affected by the goodness or badness of its government; an idea already expressed in the *Citizen of the World*, Letter 44 (Globe edition, page 156)—'Every mind seems capable of entertaining a certain quantity of happiness, which no institutions can increase, no circumstances alter, and entirely independent of fortune.' In the poem he (or rather Johnson for him), asserts that only those who meddle with politics have anything to fear: the mass of men, who are 'remote from power,' can enjoy 'the smooth current of domestic joy.' He might have appealed by way of illustration to some periods of the history of the Roman empire; the scenes of bloodshed (often grossly exaggerated) with which Tacitus fills his pages only affected a small class of nobles in a single city, Rome, whilst under Tiberius and other emperors usually depicted in such dark colours, the provincials enjoyed, on the whole, such peace and prosperity as had been unknown previously, and as was not known again for a long period. But all this only begs the real question at issue; for such a government cannot be called a bad one, and nothing that the poet says disproves the fact that under a really bad and tyrannical government the 'current of domestic joy' is not allowed to glide smoothly; there are countries at the present day where it is apt to be interfered with very rudely, and when religious issues are concerned the poet's position is even less tenable; he writes as if he had never heard of the Holy Inquisition on the one hand, or of the persecutions of Papists on the other. If his recommendations were carried out, in order to secure their own ease men would leave the ruling powers to go entirely their own way, never uttering the least protest against what they conceived to be wrong in matters of 'reason, faith and conscience.'" (*Sharp.*)

31. *Political institutions.* Parliaments, monarchy, republics, etc.

Temper and regulation. Inward disposition and self-government.

33. *Fourth edition.* The fourth appeared in August, 1765, and the ninth in the year of Goldsmith's death, 1774. The poem "produced a golden harvest to Mr. Newbery, but all the remuneration on record, doled out by his niggard hand to the author, was twenty guineas!" (*Irving.*) *The Vicar* was published March 1766.

34. *The Vicar of Wakefield.* "Every one is familiar with Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield.* We read it in youth and in age. We return to it, as Walter Scott has said, again, and again; 'and we bless the memory of an author who contrives so well to reconcile us to human nature.' With its ease of style, its turns of thought so whimsical yet wise, and the humour and wit which sparkle freshly through its narrative, we have all of us profitably amused the idle or the vacant hour; from year to year we have had its tender or mirthful incidents, its forms, so homely in their beauty, its pathos and its comedy, given back to us from the canvas of our Wilkies, Newtons, and Stothards, our Leslies, Maclises, and Mulreadys: but not in those graces of style, or even in that home-cherished gallery of familiar faces, can the secret of its extraordinary fascination be said to consist. It lies nearer the heart. A something which has found its way *there*; which, while it amused, has made us happier; which, gently inweaving itself with our habits of thought, has increased our good-humour and charity; which, insensibly it may be, has corrected wilful impatiences of temper, and made the world's daily accidents easier and kinder to us all: somewhat thus should be expressed, I think, the charm of the *Vicar of Wakefield.* It is our first pure example of the simple domestic novel. Though wide as it was various, and most minutely as well as broadly marked with passion, incident and character, the field selected by Richardson, Fielding, and Smollett for the exercise of their genius and display of their powers had hardly included this. Nor is it likely that Goldsmith would himself have chosen it, if his leading object had been to write a book. Rather as a refuge from the writing of books was this book undertaken. Simple to very baldness are the materials employed;—but he threw into the midst of them his own nature; his actual experience; the suffering, discipline, and sweet emotion, of his chequered life; and so made them a lesson and a delight to all men.

"Good predominant over evil, is briefly the purpose and moral of the little story. It is designed to show us that patience in suffering, that persevering reliance on the providence of God, that quiet labour, cheerful endeavour, and an indulgent forgiveness of the faults and infirmities of others, are the easy and certain means of pleasure in this world, and of turning pain to noble uses. It is designed to show us that the heroism and self-denial needed for the duties of life, are not of the superhuman sort; that they may co-exist with many follies, with some simple weaknesses, with many harmless vanities; and that in the improvement of mankind, near and remote, in its progress through worldly content to final happiness, the humblest of men have their place assigned them, and their part alloted them to play." (*Forster.*)

The great German poet Goethe writing in 1830, thus described its influence upon him: "It is not to be described the effect which Goldsmith's *Vicar* had upon me just at the critical moment of mental development. That lofty and benevolent irony, that fair and indulgent view of all infirmities and faults, that weakness under all calamities, that equanimity under all changes and chances, and the whole train of kindred virtues, whatever names they bear, proved my best education; and in the end, these are the thoughts and feelings which have reclaimed us from all the errors of life."

35. *Rapidly obtained a popularity.* Mr. Austin Dobson has lately shown that this famous book did not please so quickly and so completely as has been taken for granted.

Page 43. 1. *The fable. . . . worst . .* Professor Raleigh concurs in this criticism and says that there is 'no sustained development of plot,' that 'the plot is loosely constructed and huddled up at the close.' Craik, too, in his *History of English Literature,* remarks: "Never was there a story put together in such an artificial, thoughtless, blundering way. It is little better than such a 'concatenation accordingly' as satisfies one in a dream. It is not merely that everything is brought about by such sudden apparitions and transformations as only happen at the call of Harlequin's wand." Forster says: "It may be freely admitted that there are many grave faults, many improbabilities, some even palpable absurdities, in the construction of the story. Goldsmith knew this......He rested, with well grounded faith, on the vital reality of his characters."

The fable. Fable (Lat. *fabula* a story) is the name given to the central narrative of an epic or novel or to the main action of a drama. It implies that the material of a work of literary art is so arranged as to constitute a unity and convey a lesson or moral or great idea. But in Macaulay's day the old science of literary art was in the English Universities virtually forgotten; and accordingly such a term as 'fable' conveyed to him little definite meaning. He judged a work by the impression it produced on his mind, and often failed to realise what the author's purpose was. Thus he acknowledged that Goethe's study of *Hamlet* affected him with wonder and was far beyond his own powers. He could repeat a play from memory and yet perhaps would fail to discover what was the central story or the main design. In the case of the *Vicar* he admired the first part with its sketches of character and rural scenes; but the middle and latter parts, in which social evils and life's struggles are dealt with and the Vicar is tried by adversity, did not appeal to him. It may be true that the later chapters are less interesting or beautiful, but it is in them that the design is shown and the author's mind revealed. And it is in them that the Vicar shows his greatness.

The fundamental requirements of the story are *probability, consistency* and *distinctness of characterisation.* Macaulay denies to the *Vicar* both probability and consistency. By probability is meant that a story should be true to life, *i. e.* such as may happen. But Macaulay and other critics seem to use the term in a minor sense, of improbabilities of detail such as unexpected coincidences. These will be found in all authors—for art studies the marvellous—but in the *Vicar* there is too much of them and the effect thereof is to destroy the pleasing sense of wonder. As to consistency the chief application of the term is to the characters, who should always act according to the type they represent. The term also implies that no part should contradict, or be inconsistent or incongruous with, any other part. Charges on this head without definite specification of the points complained of can neither be accepted nor denied.

Macaulay found in the early chapters a double charm — the *sweetness of pastoral poetry* and the *vivacity of comedy.* The former refers to the simple unsophisticated life of the family, away from the artificiality of city life and in contact with the scenes and life of nature. Probably he is thinking of poems of a pastoral or idyllic character by Wordsworth and Tennyson and Burns. Sweetness, or natural charm, is the excellence of such poetry. Vivacity (or liveliness) is almost identical with wit; and undoubtedly Goldsmith aimed at the production of comic wit. Fielding, his master, considered that an ideal novel should combine the styles of comedy and the epic; and though Goldsmith's ambition is less great it is easy to find in the *Vicar* traces of that study of the masters of comedy which led later to the production of the two plays. Goldsmith's vivacity is largely seen in humorous (or laughable) situations and pretensions.

7. *Pastoral poetry* professes to delineate the scenes and incidents of shepherd life. As an attempt to realise an imaginary and highly idealised state of society it is a completely artificial form, and it has already disappeared from literature, never to be revived. The pastorals of our modern literatures are essentially a humanistic revival of the Greek idyl of Theocritus, Bion and Moschus, and the Latin *eclogue* of Virgil, and first made their appearance in Tuscany in the sixteenth century. It was the *Shepherd's Calendar* of Edmund Spenser (1580) that gave Elizabethan pastoral its great vogue.

8. *Moses and his spectacles.* Moses Primrose, younger son of the Vicar (Dr. Primrose), noted for his greenness and pedantry. Being sent to sell a horse at a fair, he gave it in exchange for a gross of worthless green spectacles.

The vicar and his monogamy. The Vicar "maintained with Whiston, that it was unlawful for a priest of the Church of England, after the death of his first wife, to take a second. To express it in one word, he valued himself upon being a *monogamist.*" ('Monogamist' in this sense is the opposite of 'digamist.') See Chapter II.

9. *The sharper and his cosmogony.* The sharper is the swindling rascal, Ephraim Jenkinson, whom Dr. Primrose met in a public tavern. Imposed on by his venerable appearance, learned talk abut cosmogony, and still more so by his flattery of the doctor's work on the subject of monogamy, Dr. Primrose sold the swindler his horse for a bogus draft upon Farmer Flamborough. *Cosmogony* treats of the question of the creation or origin of the world. Gr. *kosmos*, the world.

The Squire ..... Squire Thornhill, the instrument of the vicar's sufferings and who, as Olivia remarked, "had an infinite fund of humour." It was when he was invited to the vicar's house that he non-plussed Moses by putting him questions of no meaning but of high-sounding language committed to memory for the occasion. One of the questions was: "Do you think Aristotle right when he says that relatives are related?"

10. *Aristotle.* Eminent Greek philosopher (384-322 B. C.) ; creator of Logic and other sciences ; greatest thinker of the ancient world.

Relatives are related. The proposition does not convey any profound meaning, but merely states what is involved in the words.

Olivia. The elder danghter of Dr. Primrose. She "had that luxuriancy of beauty with which painters generally draw Hebe ; open, sprightly, and commanding." She "wished for many lovers," and eloped with Squire Thornhill.

11. *A rakish lover.* The 'lover' is Squire Thornhill who easily dazzles Olivia, being a handsome lad of quick parts and attractive manners. 'Rakish' means profligate, dissolute.

12. *Friday.* A servant of Robinson Crusoe in Defoe's great story of that name. He was an Indian whom, on a certain Friday, Crusoe saved from death.

13. *The great ladies.* Lady Blarney and Miss Carolina Wilhelmina Amelia Skeggs who were introduced by the Squire to the vicar's family "as women of very great distinction and fashion from town"; but who were really flash women.

14. *Mr. Burchell with his "Fudge."* Mr. Burchell, *alias* Sir William Thornhill, an all-accomplished gentleman with a touch of eccentricity. He turned his back on the two ladies who talked of their high-life doings, and cried 'Fudge' after each of their boastings and remarks. 'Fudge' is frequently used as an interjection indicating contempt. Skeat derives it through Prov. Fr. from Low Germ. *futsch*=begone. Goldsmith however seems to mean by it, imposture !

17. *Unworthy of.* On a lower level of literary art.

18. *Catastrophe.* The winding up of the plot; what determines the final result. Gr. *kata*, down; *strephein*, to turn.

Absurdities. Probably improbabilities are meant.

19. *Pleasantry.* Flashes of wit and gleams of humour.

22. *To try his fortune as a dramatist.* It was partly due to his fondness for the drama, as well as to his belief that 'there was hope in the theatre.'

23. *The Good-natured man.* Johnson "praised Goldsmith's *Good-natured Man*; said it was the best comedy that had appeared since *The Provoked Husband*, and that there had not been of late any such character exhibited on the stage as that of Croaker."

24. *Garrick.* David Garrick, the celebrated actor and stage-manager. In 1747 he joined with Lacy, and took Drury Lane Theatre. Here he continued until 1776. He was a most accomplished man. His letters are full of sound sense, wit, and grace; his verses and epigrams often brilliant; his plays lively; his accomplishments many. Johnson said of him that his death "eclipsed the gaiety of nations and diminished the public stock of harmless pleasure." He was a personal friend of Goldsmith but he believed this comedy would fail. As yet he was favourable to the comedy of sentiment.

refused to produce it....... The truth is that Garrick did not like the piece, and he privately told Reynolds and Johnson that he thought it would not succeed. To the author, however, he was not equally frank. He suggested alterations and omissions which were anything but palatable to him. Finally Goldsmith seizing a favourable opportunity, offered his comedy to Colman, one of the patentees of Covent Garden Theatre, who accepted it.

Drury Lane Theatre, one of the principal theatres of London, situated in Russell Street, near Drury Lane. It was first opened in 1663.

25. *Covent Garden* Theatre, a theatre in Bow Street, Covent Garden, built by John Rich, a famous harlequin off Lincoln's Inn Theatre, in 1731. It was opened under the dormant patent granted by Charles II., to Sir William Davanent, with Congreve's Comedy *The Way of the World*, December 7, 1733.

26. *his benefit nights.* 'The Good-natured Man' was performed for ten nights in succession; the third, sixth, and ninth nights were for the author's benefit; the fifth night it was commanded by their majesties; after this it was played occasionally, but rarely, having always pleased more in the closet than on the stage.

The profits presulting from 'The Good-natured Man' were beyond any that Goldsmith had yet derived from his works. He netted about four hundred pounds from the theatre, and one hundred pounds from his publisher.

29. *Plot.* Virtually the same as fable; here the story of Honeywood (the good-natured but unwise man) and Miss Richland.

31. *ludicrous.* Laughable, a requirement of comedy.

33. *Canting.* Hypocritical, pretentious.

Mawkish. Productive of disgust; sickening.

34. *False Delicacy.* The author was Kelly. "It is not an easy matter to describe this comedy. One can hardly disentangle, from the maze of cant and makebelieve in which all the people are involved, what it precisely is they drive at; but the main business seems to be, that there are three couples in search of themselves throughout the five acts, and enveloped in such a haze or mist of *False Delicacy* (the title of the piece) that they do not, till the last, succeed in finding themselves." (Forster.)

34-5. *Sentimentality was all the mode.* Goldsmith's views were entirely opposed to the prevailing fashion of comedy. He thought that a vicious taste prevailed among those who wrote for the stage. "A new species of dramatic composition," says he, in one of his essays, "has been introduced under the name of *sentimental comedy*, in which the virtues of private life are exhibited rather than the vices exposed; and the distresses rather than the faults of mankind make our interest in the piece. In these plays, almost all the characters are good and exceedingly generous; they are lavish enough of their tin money on the stage; and though they want humour, have abundance of sentiment and feeling. If they happen to have faults or foibles, the spactator is taught not only to pardon, but to applaud them, in consideration of the goodness of their hearts, so that folly, instead of being ridiculed, is commended, and the comedy aims at touching our passions, without the power of being truly pathetic. In this manner we are likely to lose one great source of entertainment on the stage; for while the comic poet is invading the province of the tragic muse, he leaves her lively sister quite neglected." Mr. Austin Dobson thus defines *genteel* or *sentimental comedy*, which found most favour in England at that time: "This was the English equivalent for the *comédie serieuse* or *larmoyante*, which, initiated in France by La Chaussee, had recently been most happily exemplified in that country by Sedaine's *Philosophe sans le savoir*. According to Diderot, this school had for its object not so much the satire of vice as the glorification of virtue."

All the mode. Quite the fashion.

More tears . . . . A striking evidence of unnaturalness.

36. *Pleasantry.* Witticism, jest, humorous scene.

Page 44. 1. *Reprobated.* Strongly disapproved.

Low. Belonging to humble life and below the dignity of the stage. The Comedy of the Restoration imitated the manners of fashionable society and reckoned itself genteel.

2. *The very best scene* . . . . "Strangely enough, what may now seem to some of us the very best scene in the Good-natured Man—the scene, that is, in which young Honeywood, suddenly finding Miss Richland without, is compelled to dress up the two bailiffs in possession of his house and introduce them to her as gentlemen friends—was very nearly damning the play on the first night of its production. The pit was of opinion that it was 'low'; and subsequently the critics took up the cry, and professed themselves to be so deeply shocked by the vulgar humours of the bailiffs that Goldsmith had to cut them out." (*Black.*) The scene is due to Honeywood's pecuniary difficulties.

7. *The Deserted Village.* The object of the poem is stated in its *Dedication*: it was to deplore the depopulation of the country, and to inveigh against the cause of that depopulation *viz.*, the increase of luxury.

Diction. An author's *diction* is strictly his choice and use of words, with no special reference to thought. 'Style' applies to a writer's thoughts and words; 'diction' to his language only.

8. *Is fully* equal . . . . . Mr. Gosse, however, thinks the *Traveller* far inferior to the *Deserted Village.*

11. *Bayes in the 'Rehearsal.' The Rehearsal* (1671), by George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, was a satiric tragi-comedy. "It was a deliberate

onslaught on the heroic drama that had come into vogue, and was specifically a travesty of several of Dryden's tragedies of this type . . . In *The Rehearsal* as first written D'Avenant was the Bayes satirised, and some of the points retained in the acted version apply only to him. But the play was adapted to take off the foibles of Dryden, poet-laureate, when it actually came on the stage; and the nickname 'Bayes' (i. e., laureate) stuck to Dryden, though originally meant for Dryden's predecessor in the laureateship......The plan of *The Rehearsal* is that Bayes, the author's manager, is made to submit his new piece to the criticism of a town amateur and a country gentleman, and receives their comments and suggestions with no very good grace.

The only use of a plan, etc. The reference is to the following dialogue :-

Smith. 'Tis snip-snap, Sir, as you say; but methinks not pleasant, nor to the purpose; for the play does not go on.

Bayes. Play does not go on! I don't know what you mean; why, is not this part of the play?

Smith. Yes; but the plot stands still.

Bayes. Plot stands still! Why, what a devil is the plot good for, but to bring in fine things?

12. *Fine things.* Beautiful passages. Often called 'purple patches.' The suggestion in the *Rehearsal* is that Dryden was deficient in dramatic sense and power though he could write good passages here and there. Similarly Macaulay suggests that Goldsmith failed in the general idea or plan though some passages were beautifully expressed.

14. *One unpardonable fault.* Note exactly what this is. It is not thinking wrongly but observing, describing and portraying wrongly. The work of the poem (according to this text) is to decribe and portray life and nature, leaving it to ourselves or to the philosophers to draw deductions. Macaulay finds that beautiful and valuable poetry has been written on either side of controverted questions; and he infers that we go to the poets not for philosophy or argument but for the study of life and character and man's surroundings. Such being the case he condemns Goldsmith for giving us an erroneous picture, untrue to life and nature.

Pervades. The poem takes its essential character from a misconception on which it is founded and by which it is coloured throughout.

15. *Not that theory.* Not the theory indicated in the verse—

Where wealth accumulates and men decay.

Goldsmith judged, not very wrongly, that the result of modern industrialism would be that wealth would accumulate in the hands of a few capitalists (manufacturers, landlords, &c.) and that the poorer classes would suffer more and more. As a matter of fact towns and cities have increased while rural districts are being depopulated. The question has many aspects.

Goldsmith's somewhat crude theory has been *censured by political economists* because to them wealth is the fundamental good which it is the object of their science to promote. Such wealth, however, includes not only money but everything valuable and productive; and the real question is how to secure a better distribution of wealth. Can the natural tendencies of things be altered or held in check by the beneficent interference of government? Can rural life be made attractive? And can the masses develop new qualities of mind in proportion to the progress of industrial development?

The science of Political Economy dates from 1776 when Adam Smith, a Professor in Glasgow, published his *Inquiry into the Wealth of Nations.* It is now an elaborate scientific study of the laws governing the production, distribution and consumption of the products of land and labour and mind. [Gr. *polis* a city or state, *oikonomia* from *oikos* a house or household and *nomos* law or administration.] Goldsmith knew nothing of the science; and he had no consistent theories on the subject; but it does not follow that there was no truth in his observation. Macaulay's point is however, that the poetry from which we should derive delight is independent of any theory, true or false, on these complicated questions. This at once raises the question whether there is truth in poetry and wherein does it consist. By what laws of veracity or reality or harmony is a poet restrained? The answer will be found in a study of the remainder of this paragraph. The great fault is not the erroneous political or philosophical judgment, but the inaccurate representation of the actualities of human life. This is the poet's sphere, as distinguished from the philosopher's, and in it he has erred.

17-8. *Considered merely as a poem.........*A poem may be admired, whether the theories it advocates are well-founded or not. In accordance with the fashion of his time Goldsmith wrote didactic poetry, but "it was not for its didactic qualities then nor is it for them now, that the *Deserted Village* delighted and delights. It maintains its popularity by its charming pictures of ordinary life, its sweet and tender passages, its simplicity, its sympathetic hold upon the enduring in human nature. To test it solely with a view to establish its topographical accuracy, or to insist too much upon the value of its ethical teaching, is to mistake its real mission as a work of art."

19. *The finest poem.........*The poem, in six books, by Lucretius, on the Nature of Things (*De Rerum Natura*). "His poem abounds in strikingly picturesque phrases, such as only a great poet could have originated; scattered up and down in it are episodes of exquisite pathos and vivid description, perhaps hardly to be equalled in the whole range of Latin poetry." Lucretius (98-55 B. C.) was a contemporary of Cæsar and Cicero.

20. *Didactic poem* aims, or seems to aim, at instruction as its object, making pleasure entirely subservient thereto. Pope's 'Essay on Criticism' and 'Essay on Man' are well-known examples of this kind in the English language. Gr. *didaktikos* from *didasko* I teach.

21. *Silliest and meanest......philosophy.* The phoilosophy of Epicurus, a celebrated Greek philosopher, the founder of the school of philosophy called after him the Epicurean. Macaulay's condemnation of Epicureanism is unjust. Epicurus held an atomic theory and taught that virtue should be practised because it leads to happiness. It is true, however, that most of the followers of Epicurus fell far below their master.

22-3. *Pardoned for reasoning ill.* This depends on the object of the poem. If the primary object is to prove and commend a thesis we should not pardon misleading arguments. Poetry is rarely argumentative, but some of Dryden's poems are; and in such cases the poet must submit to the laws of the logical art he has invoked.

23-4. *Describing ill.* The assumption is that reasoning is not, but description is, essential to the poet's art. But here a new question arises, for Macaulay seems to refer not to the beauty but to the accuracy of the description, not to its poetry but to its prose. It is therefore in some measure a matter of 'reasoning.'

For observing. . . . This and the following clause are explanations or extensions of the preceding. Description is based on observation.

25. *Portraits.* Used metaphorically for descriptions not of persons but of scenes and conditions.

Originals. The things portrayed or described. A man is the original of his portrait.

26. *Copies from real life.* Description derived from the actual state of things.

Monstrous. Abnormal, contrary to ordinary experience. Macaulay asserts that Goldsmith's description contains an incongruous combination of conditions that never co-existed.

28. *Painter.* Here landscape painter. Macaulay introduces the image or analogy in this sentence to illustrate the supposed incongruity in the *Deserted Village.*

29. *August.* The month of harvest at the close of summer, the weather being still warm.

January. Mid-winter, when water is frozen with cold.

32. *Exquisitely coloured.* Beautifully finished with the colouring appropriate to the season. The first four details apply to August; the ice and the skating to January. Such a combination in one picture is incongruous and absurd.

33. *Wagons reeling.* Carts loaded with corn, etc.

Page 45. 3. *Felicity, misery.* These two things, which are opposite as summer and winter are incongruously put into one picture. Macaulay's point is unfolded with great lucidity, but he has overstated the fault.

5. *Different stages. . . .* It is implied that England is not only more prosperous but also in a more advanced stage or condition of civilisation.

6. *Native island.* Ireland.

Rural paradise. Happy and beautiful place in the country. The term 'paradise' was introduced into English as the name of the original abode of unfallen man; whence it is used secondarily of any blissful abode. Gr. *paradeisos* a park or garden; from the Persian.

8. *Auburn.* The name given in the poem to the village; a poetic sound perhaps suggested by a village Aldbourne in Wiltshire. Goldsmith was thinking of Lissoy and his kindred, but his reminiscences are transfigured and the picture is idealised.

11. *The hamlet.* His prosperous village.

Kent. A fertile part in the east of England.

12. *The ejectment.* The turning out. The term is used when persons

who fail to pay rent are turned out of their homes. But many have been compelled to emigrate on account of schemes or humours of landlords.

Munster. One of the four provinces of Ireland.

15. *His chance.* Because his success and payment depended largely on the approval of the audiences.

Covent Garden. The theatre, under the management of the elder Colman, where his former play was produced. It may be noted that though at first Garrick was opposed to Goldsmith's new style his opinions were now changed and he cordially encouraged the new play and wrote the prologue. Colman on the other hand received it reluctantly.

16. *She Stoops to Conquer.* This comedy ows its existence to an incident which actually occurred to Goldsmith. "At the close of his last holidays, then a lad of nearly seventeen, he left home for Edgeworthstown, mounted on a borrowed hack which a friend was to restore to Lissoy, and with store of unaccustomed wealth, a guinea, in his pocket. The delicious taste of independence beguiled him to a loitering, lingering, pleasant enjoyment of the journey; and, instead of finding himself under Mr. Hughes's roof at nightfall, night fell upon him some two or three miles out of the direct road, in the middle of the streets of Ardagh. But nothing could disconcert the owner of the guinea, who, with a lofty, confident air, inquired of a person passing the way to the town's best house of entertainment. The man addressed was the wag of Ardagh, a humorous fencing-master, Mr. Cornelius Kelley, and the schoolboy swagger was irresistible provocation to a jest. Submissively he turned back with horse and rider till they came within a pace or two of the great Squire Featherstone's, to which he respectfully pointed as the 'best house' of Ardagh. Oliver rang at the gate, gave his beast in charge with authoritative rigour, and was shown, as a supposed expected guest, into the comfortable parlour of the squire. Those were days when Irish inn-keepers and Irish squires more nearly approximated than now; and Mr. Featherstone, unlike the excellent but explosive Mr. Hardcastle, is said to have seen the mistake and humoured it. Oliver had a supper which gave him so much satisfaction, that he ordered a bottle of wine to follow; and the attentive landlord was not only forced to drink with him, but, with a like familiar condescension, the wife and pretty daughter were invited to the supper-room. Going to bed, he stopped to give special instructions for a hot cake to breakfast; and it was not till he had dispatched this latter meal, and was looking at his guinea with pathetic aspect of farewell, that the truth was told him by the good-natured squire." (*Forster.*)

20. *Yet the mirth of. . . .* "The success of *She Stoops to Conquer* was thoroughly deserved. It was an immense improvement upon its predecessor. Compared with Croaker and Lofty, Tony Lumpkin and Mr. Hardcastle, are as characters to characteristics, while Mrs. Hardcastle, Hastings Young Marlowe, Miss Hardcastle, and Miss Neville, are far beyond the Honeywoods and Richlands of *The Good-natured Man.* Whatever there may be of farcical in the plot, vanished before the hearty laughter that the piece raised on its first appearance, and has raised ever since. 'I know of no comedy for many years (said Johnson) that has

answered so much the great end of comedy, making an audience merry.'" (*Dobson.*)

23. *Farce in five acts.* "It has often been debated whether this play is really a comedy or (as Horace Walpole said) only a farce .... The plot is too elaborate, the characterization too strongly marked, for us to regard the play as other than the pure comedy, full of character, incident, and wit, the main elements of different schools of comedy blended and harmonized into one; not as a comedy degenerating into farce, but rather as occasionally refining and elevating farcical episodes to the level of the highest comedy." (*Littledale.*) A farce is a form of comedy in which extravagant drollery prevails, usually shorter and slighter and less regardful of rules than the regular comedy.

26. *Kelly.* Hugh Kelly (1739-1777), the Irish stay-maker, who made himself, for a short time, pre-eminent with a series of five comedies, all of the *larmoyante* sentimental class recently introduced from France, in which everything that was vulgar or vigorous was carefully omitted. It was one of Kelly's pieces, *False Delicacy,* which was produced at Covent Garden six days before *The Good-natured Man,* and so sorely interfered with the success of that play.

Cumberland. Richard Cumberland (1732-1811), author of several farces, sentimental comedies, tragedies, essays and poems. His fame rests on two or three of his plays, which include *The West Indian* (1771)—his best, produced with much success by Garrick. In the *Retaliation* Goldsmith somewhat hyperbolically raised him as

'The Terence of England, the mender of hearts'

—surely one of the finest compliments ever paid by one author to another, were it not obviously satirical, though not perhaps unkindly meant.

Actually Goldsmith does not seem to have been drawn to him, though he had over-refined comedy, and set himself to succeed by avoiding his rival's defect; while Sheridan made the world laugh at him as 'Sir Fretful Plagiary.'

28. *Two generations have since.* . . . Mr. Gosse, writing in 1888, bestows the following high eulogy: "If one swallow could make a summer, *She Stoops to Conquer* would make the eighteenth century a period of genuine dramatic vitality, for it is one of the great comedies of the world."

33. *History of Rome.* It was published in two volumes of five hundred pages each "and was announced as for the use of schools and colleges; but, though a work written for bread, not fame, such is its ease, perspicuity, good sense, and the delightful simplicity of its style, that it was well received by the critics, commanded a prompt and extensive sale, and has ever since remained in the hands of young and old." (*Irving.*)

History of England. "A more innocent production than the *English History,* which appeared in August 1771, could hardly have been imagined. It was simply a compilation, in his easy flowing style, from four historians (Rapin, Carte, Smollet, and Hume) whom he impartially characterised in his preface; and with as little of the feeling of being influenced by any, his book throughout had been written."

34. *History of Greece.* It was in two volumes, and was not published

till after his death, 1774.

35. *Natural History.* This book called 'A History of Earth and Animated Nature,' was to consist of eight volumes. It had been originally undertaken for Griffin, and was begun in 1769, but was not completed and published till 1774.

Page 46. 1. *Selecting.* Choosing some parts and omitting others.

Abridging. Shortening by condensation or omission.

2. *Translating.* Reproducing in his own words.

Clear, pure, flowing. Cf. 'pure and easy' para 8; another description of Goldsmith's literary style.

6. *Naseby.* A village in Northamptonshire. It was the scene of the decisive victory over Charles I., by the parliamentary forces under Fairfax and Cromwell, June 14, 1645.

8. *He was hoaxed.* "As he was pushing on doggedly at the second volume, Gibbon the historian called in. 'You are the man of all others I wish to see,' cried the poet, glad to be saved the trouble of reference to his books. 'What was the name of that Indian king who gave Alexander the Great so much trouble?' 'Montezumo,' replied Gibbon, sportively. The heedless author was about committing the name to paper without reflexion, when Gibbon pretended to recollect himself, and gave the true name, Porus." (*Irving.*)

'To hoax' a man is to deceive or play a trick upon him for amusement or mischief.

10. *Montezuma.* Emperor of Mexico; died in 1520.

10-1. *Animated Nature.* The Natural History (of Animated Nature).

13. *Patagonians.* The inhabitants of Patagonia, the most southerly district of the South American Continent. They were so called by Magellan who gave them the name because of the large size of their feet, *patagon* in Spanish meaning a large clumsy foot. They are remarkable for their lofty stature.

Monkeys that preach ...... The reference is to the following passage in *Animated Nature*: "Every day, both morning and evening, the Ouarines assembled in the woods to receive instructions. When all come together, one among the number takes the highest place on a tree, and makes a signal with his hand to the rest to sit down, in order to hearken. As soon as he sees them placed he begins his discourse." "In justice to him let us add, however, that when he protests his inability to see why monkeys should not be able to conduct debates and deliberations in quite as orderly a manner as any human assembly, his remark has probably more of purposed sarcasm than of undesigned absurdity in it." (*Foster.*)

14. *Nightingales that repeat.* . . . The reference is to the "marvellous story in which Gesner celebrates the two nightingales who were heard repeating what they had overheard of a long and not remarkably decent conversation between a drunken tapster and his wife, as well as of the talk of two travellers about an impending war against the Protestants."

16. *Zoology.* . . . The science, or the branch of biology, that treats of animals with reference to their structure, functions, development, analysis, nomenclature, and classification. Some knowledge of this subject was

necessary to equip him for writing the Natural History, and might have been expected on account of his medical studies.

17. *Physical sciences.* Sciences of external nature ; Physics, Chemistry, Astronomy, &c.

18-9. *Denied that the sun. . . .* It is said that an acquaintance of Goldsmith once found Kenrick publicly haranguing a coffee-room against Goldsmith and showing both his ignorance of science and his enormous conceit by an account of how he had on some occasion maintained that the sun was not eight days or so more in the northern than in the southern signs, and, on being referred to Maupertuis for a better opinion, had answered " Maupertuis ! I know more of the matter than Maupertuis."

19. *The sun is longer. . . .* As the earth moves more rapidly when nearer the sun, or in winter, the sun's apparent motion is not uniform, and it happens that he takes eight days more to pass from the vernal to the autumnal equinox (Mar. 21 to Sep. 23) than from the latter to the former.

Signs. Signs of the Zodiac ; twelve divisions of the heavens.

20. *Maupertuis.* A French mathematician and astronomer, born in 1698. He was placed at the head of the Academicians whom Louis XV. sent to Lapland, to obtain the exact measurement of a degree of longitude.

24-5. *Moving his upper jaw.* The story was related by William Cooke, a young Irish law-student who had chambers near Goldsmith's at the temple. " The Doctor was at times very absent and showed such inconsistency of mind, that if a person was to judge of his literary knowledge from some particular instances they must think very meanly of his information or talents. He was once engaged in a violent dispute (at the very time he was writing his *History of Animated Nature*) about the motion of the upper jaw ; and when Bellas laughed at him on the absurdity of his assertion, the Doctor very seriously, but warmly, desired him to put his finger in his mouth, and he'd convince him." (*Forster.*)

34. *Epitome* is a concise view of all the substantial or material parts of a subject. We speak of an *epitome* of history, of a *digest* of Roman law, of a *compendium* of some science, an *abridgment* of a book ; a *summary* is more general.

Page 47. 3. *Bulk.* Framework in front of a shop. In Johnson's Life of Savage we read : "Savage lodged as much by accident as he dined, and passed the night sometimes in mean houses . . . . and sometimes, when he had not money to support even the expenses of these receptacles, walked about the streets till he was weary, and lay down in the summer upon a bulk or in the winter, with his associates in poverty, among the ashes of a glass-house."

6-7. *No talent or accomplishment was wanting.* Talent refers to natural, and accomplishment to acquired, ability or excellence. The fact stated is prominently brought out in the following passage of Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* : " I [Boswell] started a thought this afternoon which amused us a great part of the way. 'If,' said I, 'our club should come and set up in St. Andrews, as a college, to teach all that each of us can, in the several departments of learning and taste, we should rebuild the city : we should draw a wonderful concourse of students.'

Dr. Johnson entered fully into the spirit of this project. We immediately fell to distributing the offices. I was to teach Civil and Scotch law; Burke, politics and eloquence; Garrick, the art of public speaking; Langton was to be our Grecian, Colman our Latin professor; Nugent to teach physical; Lord Charlemont, modern history; Beauclerk, natural philosophy; Vesey, Irish antiquities, or Celtic learning; Jones, Oriental learning; Goldsmith, poetry, and ancient history; Chamier, commercial politics; Reynolds, painting, and the arts which have beauty for their object; Chambers, the law of England. Dr. Johnson at first said, 'I'll trust theology to nobody but myself.' But, upon due consideration, that Percy is a clergyman, it was agreed that Percy should teach practical divinity and British antiquities; Dr. Johnson, himself logic, metaphysics and scholastic divinity. In this manner did we amuse ourselves; each suggesting, and each varying or adding, till the whole was adjusted. Dr. Johnson said, we only wanted a mathematician since Dyer died, who was a very good one; but as to everything else, we should have a very capital university."

9. *Four talkers.* As Mr. Austin Dobson points out, Johnson was noted for his *trained dialectics,* Burke for his *brilliant rhetoric,* Garrick for his *wit and mercurial altertness,* and Beauclerk for his easy *savoir vivre.*

10. *Johnson.* Elsewhere Macaulay remarks of Johnson that his "colloquial talents were indeed of the highest order. He had strong sense, quick discernment, wit, humour, immense knowledge of literature and life, and an immense store of curious anecdotes. As respected style, he spoke far better than he wrote."

Burke. Somewhere in Boswell's *Life,* Johnson is represented as saying "Burke has great knowledge, great fluency of words, and great promptness of ideas, so that he can speak with great illustration on any subject that comes before him."

Beauclerk who figures in Boswell's *Life* as the loved and an intimate friend of Johnson, was the only son of Lord Sydney Beauclerk and a grandson of the first Duke of St. Albans. He had the easy air of a man of the world who had seen much and who could describe what he had seen; his conversation was lively and his tastes in science and literature wide and eclectic.

Garrick. "Garrick's conversation," said Johnson, "is gay and grotesque. It is a dish of all sorts, but all good things. There is no solid meat in it; there is a want of sentiment in it. Not but that he has sentiment sometimes, and sentiment, too, very powerful and very pleasing; but it has not its full proportion in his conversation."

12. *He aspired to share. . . .* Of this there are several instances in Boswell's *Life of Johnson.* Once during an argument, "Goldsmith set in restless agitation, from a wish to get in and *shine.* Finding himself excluded, he had taken his hat to go away, but remained for some time with it in his hand, like a gamester, who, at the close of a long night lingers for a little while to see if he can have a favourable opening to finish with success. Once when he was beginning to speak, he found himself overpowered by the loud voice of Johnson, who was at the opposite end of the table, and did not perceive Goldsmith's attempt. Thus disappointed of his wish to

obtain the attention of the company, Goldsmith in a passion threw down his hat, looking angrily at Johnson, and exclaimed in a bitter tone, '*Take it.*' When Toplady was going to speak, Johnson uttered some sound which led Goldsmith to think that he was beginning again, and taking the words from Toplady. Upon which, he seized this opportunity of venting his own envy and spleen, under the pretext of supporting another person: 'Sir,' said he to Johnson, 'the gentleman has heard you patiently for an hour; pray allow us now to hear him.' Johnson (sternly): 'Sir, I was not interrupting the gentleman. I was only giving him a signal of my attention. Sir, you are impertinent.' Goldsmith made no reply, but continued in the company for some time."

Colloquial renown. Fame as a conversationalist.

14-5. *Perspicuity, vivacity and grace.* Clearness, wit and elegance; another description of Goldsmith's merits of style.

16. *Empty noisy. . . .* He poured forth statements of no value and without accuracy.

Blundering rattle. "It has been generally circulated and believed that he was a mere fool in conversation; but, in truth, this has been greatly exaggerated. He had, no doubt, a more than common share of that hurry of ideas which we often find in his countrymen, and which sometimes produces a laughable confusion in expressing them." (*Boswell.*)

'Goldsmith had no settled notions upon any subject; so he talked always at random. It seemed to be his intention to blurt out whatever was in his mind, and see what would become of it. He was angry too, when caught in an absurdity; but it did not prevent him from falling into another the next minute." (*Johnson.*)

17. *The evidence is overwhelming.* As a slight corrective to this overwhelming evidence may be cited a passage from 'The Parlour Window' of the Rev. Edward Margin:—"I knew an old literary man, a very keen observer too, who assured me that he had often been in company with Goldsmith, Johnson, Garrick, etc., and that Goldsmith used to have a crowd of listeners about his seat, and was a shrewd and eloquent converser." "It is also incontestable that, whatever Goldsmith's success may have been in the 'wit-combats' at the Turk's Head, he frequently said very pertinent things." (*Austin Dobson.*)

18. *Contrast between.* Cf. Johnson's remark on this point: "No man was more foolish when he had not a pen in his hand, or more wise when he had."

19. *Horace Walpole.* The youngest son of Sir Robert Walpole, the eminent statesman. His romance *The Castle af Otranto* was at one time very popular. He is now, however, chiefly remembered for his *Letters,* which are remarkable for their wit and humour, and for their delineations of the society in which he lived.

20. *Inspired idiot.* The epithet applies to his writings, the substantive to his ordinary speech and manner.

"Noll", said Garrick. . . . The famous couplet runs thus:—

"Here lies Nolly Goldsmith, for shortness called Noll,
Who wrote like an angel but talk'd like poor Poll."

(Noll=Oliver; Poll is a parrot.)

It provoked Goldsmith into writing his *Retaliation.*

21. *Chamier.* Antony Chamier was Under Secretary of State, and a member of 'The Club.' Died 1780. It was he who interrogated Goldsmith about what he meant by the word 'slow' in the first line of the *Traveller.*

[Johnson: "I remember Chamier, after talking with him some time, said, 'Well, I do believe he wrote this poem himself: and, let me tell you, that is believing a great deal.' Chamier once asked him, what he meant by *slow,* the last word in the first line of 'The Traveller.'

'Remote, unfriended, melancholy, slow.'

Did he mean tardiness of locomotion? Goldsmith, who would say something without consideration, answered, 'Yes.' I was sitting by, and said, 'No, Sir; you do not mean tardiness of locomotion; you mean that sluggishness of mind which comes upon a man in solitude.' Chamier believed then that I had written the line, as much as if he had seen me write it." (Boswell's *Life.*)]

24. *Even Boswell.* The force of 'Even' is to indicate that Boswell (whom Macaulay so depreciated) was conscious of superiority to Goldsmith in conversation.

Boswell could say. "Of our friend Goldsmith he [Johnson] said, 'Sir, he is so much afraid of being unnoticed, that he often talks merely lest you should forget that he is in the company.' Boswell: 'Yes, he stands forward.' Johnson: 'True, Sir; but if a man is to stand forward, he should wish to do it not in an awkward posture, not in rags, not so as that he shall only be exposed to ridicule.' Boswell: 'For my part, I like very well to hear honest Goldsmith talk away carelessly.' Johnson: 'Why, yes, Sir, but he should not like to hear himself.'" (Boswell's *Life.*)

[James Boswell (1740-1795), the biographer of Dr. Johnson. "His life of Johnson is admittedly our greatest biography, and the singular merit of the book raised the question how it could possibly have been written by a man of such egregious weakness and vanity as Boswell. Macaulay advanced the preposterous paradox that it was because of his unrivalled qualifications as a fool that its author had written the best life in existence. The true explanation doubtless is, that this vanity and folly by no means made up Boswell's whole mental equipment, and the unenviable qualities in his character become so conspicuous largely because he had so much less reticence than ordinary men. The man who could retain the friendship of Samuel Johnson, and who could be described as 'the best travelling companion in the world,' was something more than a parasite and a fool. Nor could the most veracious fool have written such a dexterously artistic book. . . . . This obtrusive, irrepressible, absurd, drunken Scotch advocate and laird had in him something of the true Shakespearean secret." (*Cyclo. Eng. Lit.*)

27. *As rivers.* A notable simile, developed in the next two sentences.

31. *Turbid.* Muddy. Akin to 'disturbed.'

32. *Noisome.* Injurious to health; unwholesome. "Noisome" now always denotes that which is disgusting, especially to the sense of smell. M. E. *noy,* annoyance.

Pellucid. Very clear. Lat. *per, lucidus.*

Delicious. Delightful, pleasant. The term is too strong.

34. *Sediment.* The turbid element sinks to the bottom.

Type. Image. Gr. *tupos* type, example.

Page 48. 3. *Laughing-stock.* The object of ridicule.

5. *Had not sufficient judgment and self-command.* . . "In our way to the Club to-night when I regretted that Goldsmith would, upon every occasion, endeavour to shine, by which he often exposed himself, Mr. Langton observed, that he was not like Addison, who was content with the fame of his writings, and did not aim also at excellency in conversation, for which he found himself unfit ; and that he said to a lady who complained of his having talked in company, 'Madam, I have but nine pence in ready money, but I can draw for a thousand pounds.' I observed that Goldsmith had a great deal of gold in his cabinet, but, not content with that, was always taking out his purse. Johnson: 'Yes, Sir, and that so often an empty purse!' " (*Boswell.*)

6. *Animal spirits.* Exuberance of healthful vivacity.

9. *Writhed with shame and vexation.* "He was still more mortified, when talking in a company with fluent vivacity, and, as he flattered himself, to the admiration of all who were present; a German, who sat next him and perceived Johnson rolling himself, as if about to speak, suddenly stopped him, saying, 'Stay, stay—Toctor Shonson is going to say something.' This was, no doubt, very provoking, especially to one so irritable as Goldsmith, who frequently mentioned it with strong expressions of indignation." (*Boswell.*)

11. *His associates.* The members of the club. It is to be remembered that most of them were men of high position.

13. *His character.* Cf. "From the general tone of Goldsmith's biography, it is evident that his faults, at the worst, were but negative, while his merits were great and decided. He was no one's enemy but his own; his errors, in the main, inflicted evil on none but himself, and were so blended with humorous, and even affecting circumstances, as to disarm anger and conciliate kindness." (*Irving.*)

14. *Much to love, little to respect.* An example of Macaulay's antithesis. It is to be remembered that he had no sympathy with weakness, and that his moral judgments are always stern and severe.

20. *Envy.* Boswell cites many instances, of this weakness, in his *Life of Johnson*:—"During all the time in which Dr. Johnson was employed in relating to the circle at Sir Joshua Reynold's the particulars of what passed between the king and him, Goldsmith remained unmoved upon a sofa at some distance, affecting not to join in the least in the eager curiosity of the company. He assigned as a reason for his gloom and seeming inattention, that he apprehended Johnson had relinquished his purpose of furnishing him with a Prologue to his play, with the hopes of which he had been flattered; but it was strongly suspected that he was fretting with chagrin and envy at the singular honour Dr. Johnson had lately enjoyed."

"Talking of Goldsmith, Johnson said, he was very envious. I defended him, by observing, that 'he owned it frankly upon all occasions.' Johnson:

'Sir, you are enforcing the charge. He had so much envy, that he could not conceal it. He was so full of it, that he overflowed.' "

23. *To injure. . . .* Goldsmith's envy was without malice.

The reputation. He indulged in no secret slander.

25. *Less prudent.* I. e. in speech.

26. *His heart was on his lips.* Cf. what Boswell said: "In my opinion, Goldsmith had not more of it [envy] then other people have but only talked of it freely."

31. *Damning with faint praise.* The phrase occurs in Pope's well-known satire on Addison [Atticus]. Faint praise implies condemnation. The figure may be regarded as Epigram.

34. *Harrow up my very soul.* The language is reminiscent of Shakespeare:

> "I could a tale unfold whose lightest word
> Would harrow up thy soul."

35. *George Steevens,* who collaborated with Johnson in editing Shakespeare, had a detestable temper, and was full of animosities. He was elected into the Club, on Johnson's proposal, in 1774. Beauclerk once said that Steevens deserved to be hanged; for he "speaks behind their backs against those with whom he lives on the best terms, and attacks them in the newspapers."

Cumberland. The writer of Comedies above referred to.

36. *They would. . . .* An illustration of malicious envy.

Page 49. 5. *Long-headed.* Of a shrewd disposition; sagacious in matters extending into the future.

6. *Contrivance and disguise.* Scheming and artificial concealment.

7. *Goldsmith has sometimes been . . .* Macaulay is here probably thinking of Forster, who insists on representing Goldsmith as a genius who did not receive due recognition from his contemporaries.

12. *Considerable.* Valuable, worthy of serious consideration.

18. *Single.* Unmarried.

The Temple. One of the Inns of Court.

21. *But all......*An instance of Macaulay's habit of exaggeration.

22. *Lord Clive.* "The wealth of Lord Clive," says Macaulay in his *Essay on Lord Clive,* "was such as enabled him to vie with the first grandees of England. There remains proof that he had remitted more than a hundred and eighty thousand pounds through the Dutch East India Company, and more than forty thousand pounds through the English Company . . . . . His whole annual income, in the opinion of Sir John Malcolm, who is desirous to state it as low as possible, exceeded £40,000."

Sir Lawrence Dundas is said to have made a colossal fortune in his capacity as contractor for the army during the Seven Years' War.

25. *Wore fine clothes.* The fact has been noted by Boswell and others. Irving thinks that by the aid of dress Goldsmith was constantly endeavouring "to acquire that personal acceptability, which nature had denied him." Fine implies expensive.

26. *Venal beauties.* Beautiful women who sacrifice their honour to pecuniary gain.

27. *Heart* stands for 'feelings,' *head* for 'intellect.'

29. *But it was. . .* Note how clearness and emphasis are enhanced by the repetition of the points in fresh and more pointed language.

31-2. *From boyhood a gambler.* Irving says: "The strictest scrutiny has detected no settled vice of the kind. 'I do not believe Goldsmith to have deserved the name of a gamester,' said one of his contemporaries; 'he liked cards very well, as other people do, and lost and won occasionally; but as far as I saw or heard, and I had many opportunities of hearing, never any considerable sum. If he gamed with any one, it was probably with Beauclerc, but I do not know that such was the case.'"

Sanguine. Hopeful; used of general temperament. Lat. *sanguis* blood, one of the four supposed humours.

37. *Owed more than £2,000.* Some time after Goldsmith's death, Johnson in writing to Boswell observed: "Of poor Dr. Goldsmith there is little to be told more than the papers have made public. He died of a fever, made, I am afraid, more violent by uneasiness of mind. His debts began to be heavy, and all his resources were exhausted. Sir Joshua is of opinion that he owed no less than two thousand pounds. Was ever poet so trusted before?"

Page 50. 1. *Extrication from his embarrassments.* Deliverance from pecuniary obligations.

10. *Only for your enemies.* An example of happy wit. It is suggested that the enemies would disappear.

11-2. *The remedy aggravated. . .* The remedy tried by Goldsmith was James's powders, which he had once found beneficial, but which now proved injurious to him.

13. *Real physicians.* Skilled medical men. It is implied that Goldsmith's pretensions in medicine were unreal.

20. *Third of April.* More correctly, it is said, on the morning of the 4th.

21. *Churchyard.* Cemetery.

23. *Followed by.* These acted as chief mourners.

27. *Palette.* A thin oval tablet, with a hole for the thumb, upon which artists lay their colours for painting. Reynolds stopped working for the day.

28. *A little poem.* The Retaliation. Goldsmith and some of his friends occasionally dined together at the St. James's Coffee-house. One day it was proposed to write epitaphs upon him. His country, dialect, and blunders furnished subject for witticism. He was called on for 'retaliation,' and at the next meeting, produced part of this poem, which was left unfinished at his death. (See Note on page 48, l. 20.)

37. *Easy and vigorous pencil.* The qualities of the poem are by Metonymy attributed to the pencil, which again is metaphorically used for pen, the description being thus compared to a painting.

Page 51. 3. *A master-piece.* A work of first rate excellence.

6. *Supplied by.* The poem was unfinished and the sketches of these two leading men were not written.

7. *Sketches of Burke and Garrick.* The following extracts are from these sketches:—

Here lies our good Edmund, whose genius was such,
We scarcely can praise it, or blame it too much;
Who, born for the Universe, narrowed his mind,
And to party gave up what was meant for mankind.
Though fraught with all learning, yet straining his throat
To persuade Tommy Townshend to lend him a vote;
Who, too deep for his hearers, still went on refining,
And thought of convincing, while they thought of dining.

. . . . . .

Here lies David Garrick, describe me, who can,
An abridgment of all that was pleasant in man;
As an actor, confessed without rival to shine;
As a wit, if not first, in the very first line;
Yet, with talents like these, and an excellent heart,
The man had his failings, a dupe to his art;
Like an ill-judging beauty, his colours he spread,
And beplastered with rouge his own natural red.
On the stage he was natural, simple, affecting;
'Twas only that when he was off he was acting.

8-9. *Honoured him with a cenotaph.* . . . "Not long after his death the Literary Club set on foot a subscription, and raised a fund to erect a monument to his memory in Westminster Abbey. It was executed by Nollekens, and consisted simply of a bust of the poet in profile, in high relief, in a medallion, and was placed in the area of a pointed arch, over the south door in Poets' Corner." (*Irving.*) A 'cenotaph' is a monument which does not contain the remains of the deceased. Gr. *kenotafion*, an empty tomb; *kenos*, empty, and *taphos*, a tomb.

9. *Westminster Abbey* is noted as the burial place of numerous English kings, warriors, statesmen, and men of letters.

Nollekens. Joseph Nollekens (1737-1823), an English sculptor. His forte was in modelling busts; and through them he has handed down the likenesses of most of the important personages who figured in Great Britain in the end of the 18th and at the commencement of the 19th century —of Johnson, who was his his friend and frequent visitor, of Fox, Pitt, and other political characters.

10. *Johnson wrote the inscription.* The inscription was written in Latin, against the wishes of Goldsmith's friends who desired that it should be written in English, as "the memory of so eminent an English writer ought to be perpetuated in the language to which his works were likely to be so lasting an ornament." Forster thus translates the inscription:

" Of Oliver Goldsmith — Poet, Naturalist, Historian, who left scarcely any kind of writing untouched, and touched nothing that he did not adorn; whether smiles were to be stirred or tears, commanding our emotions, yet a gentle master: in genius lofty, lively, versatile; in style weighty, clear, engaging — the memory in this monument is cherished by the love of companions, the faithfulness of friends, the reverence of readers. He was born in Ireland, at a place called Pallas (in the parish) of Forney and county of Longford on the 29th Nov. 1731. Trained in letters at Dublin. Died in London 4th April 1774."

12. *More durable.* It is implied that a book by Johnson would survive a work of sculpture. The phrase, more durable than bronze, is in Horace.

More valuable. Johnson's special fitness is stated below.

14. "*Lives of the Poets.*" The last and best of Johnson's works. The Lives, of which there are fifty three, were prefixed as prefaces to an edition of the English poets brought out by the London book-sellers in 1779-81.

18-19. *Great powers were . . . . . .* In a letter to Langton, Johnson, writing of Goldsmith's death, feelingly remarked: "But let not his frailties be remembered; he was a very great man."

21. *Lyttelton* (1709-1773), known as "the good Lord Lyttelton," was an eminent politician and statesman, and a voluminous writer of some popularity. He wrote *Dialogues of the Dead* and a *History of Henry II.*

26. *Prior.* Sir James Prior (1790-1869); his chief works are biographies of Burke and Goldsmith. He was the first to collect and collate the most minute particulars of Goldsmith's life. Forster in his *Life of Goldsmith* availed himself much of the labours of Prior; and Irving acknowledges his indebtedness to him in these words: "I was chiefly indebted for the facts to the voluminous work of Mr. James Prior, who had collected and collated the most minute particulars of the poet's history with unwearied research, and scrupulous fidelity; but had rendered them, as I thought, in a form too cumbrous and overlaid with details and disquisitions, and matters uninteresting to the general reader."

27. *Irving.* Washington Irving (1783-1859), the famous American author. Among his principal works are *The Sketch Book, The Bracebridge Hall, The Tales of a Traveller, The Life and Voyages of Columbus, The Life of Goldsmith,* and *The Lives of Mahomet and his Successors.*

"His *Life of Goldsmith* is an exquisite, sympathetic piece of work, without pretension or any subtle verbal analysis, but on the whole an excellent interpretation of the character. Author and subject had much in common: Irving had at least a kindly sympathy for the vagabondish inclinations of his predecessor, and with his humorous and cheerful regard of the world; perhaps it is significant of a deeper unity in character that both, at times, fancied they could please an intolerant world by attempting to play the flute." (Warner, *Irving.*)

Forster. John Forster (1812-1876), an English political and historical writer. His works include *Historical and Biographical Essays, Life of Sir John Eliot, Life of Landor, Life of Dickens,* etc. He wrote a number of other biographies, and contributed masterly articles to the leading periodicals. His "Life and Times of Oliver Goldsmith" is accounted one of the best biographies in English literature.

"If he had written nothing but this book, literature would have owed to John Forster an enduring debt. The man who could revive for us so clearly with his charms and his faults, his smiles and his tears, the Oliver Goldsmith that we love, has laid us all under an obligation."

The biography by Prior appeared in 1837; Forster's in 1848, revised in 1854. Irving's first edition followed Prior, but the work was revised after 1848. The *diligence* of Prior refers to his careful collection of materials. A memoir had been published in 1801, and various dispersed records existed. The superiority of Forster's *Life* is due partly to completeness, partly to critical insight, and partly to the picture it gives of the literary life of the period. In recent years interesting short biographies have been written by Black (*Men of Letters* series) and Austin Dobson (*Great Writers* series).

SAMUEL JOHNSON.

Page 52. 2. *Michael Johnson* (1656-1731). Johnson's father was "a man of a large and robust body and of a strong and active mind," as Boswell tells us. With this Johnson inherited also "a vile melancholy" which characterized him throughout life.

3-4. *a magistrate of Lichfield.* "He was...a citizen so creditable as to be made one of the magistrates of Lichfield." (*Boswell.*)

5. *He was so well acquainted,* etc. "Johnson, the Lichfield librarian, is now here; he propagates learning all over this diocese, and advanceth knowledge to its just height: all the clergy here are his pupils, and suck all they can from him." (From letter of Rev. George Plaxton.)

8. *rectors.* A *rector* is a clergyman of the Church of England, who is in charge of a parish.

9. *An oracle on points of learning.* In ancient times an oracle meant the answer given by a god, through the mouth of his priest. The word now means a person whose opinions are received without question.

11. *A zealous churchman.* A supporter of the Church of England as opposed to all Non-conformists or Dissenters. "He was a zealous high-churchman and royalist." (*Boswell.*)

13. *taking the oaths to the sovereigns in possession.* The oaths, namely, of Supremacy and Allegiance which were imposed at the accession of William and Mary in 1688. They were sovereigns *de facto* (in possession) while James II. was sovereign *de jure* (by right), as Michael Johnson believed.

14. *a Jacobite in heart.* See Note on page 11, l. 16.

20. *Awkwardness.* He suffered from ailments which affected his whole body, so that he had a peculiar walk, and an equally peculiar habit of rolling his head about. He had, moreover, many strange tricks of manner.

many infirmities. Johnson was blind of one eye, dyspeptic, and a victim to a scrofulous taint.

21. *a morbid propensity to sloth and procrastination.* He had a tendency to be indolent and to put off the work which he had to do to a future time, which became almost a disease. (Lat. *morbidus*, diseased.)

22. *a kind and generous heart.* "He frequently gave all the silver in his pocket to the poor, who watched him between his house and the tavern where he dined."

22-23. *a gloomy and irritable temper.* The melancholy which afflicted Johnson was partly due to heredity and partly to constant ill-health.

23-24. *a scrofulous taint.* Scrofula is a disease of the glands, which often, as in Johnson's case, affects the eyes.

25. *were weak enough.* Were superstitious enough.

26. *the royal touch.* Erom the days of King Edward the Confessor until those of Queen Anne it was a popular superstition that scrofula could be cured by the touch of the king's hand. For this reason it was also known as 'the king's evil.' This notion was due to the belief in the the "divine right" of a king. There was a special form of prayer for the ceremony from 1684 to 1719 in the Prayer Book.

Shakespeare alludes to the ceremony in *Macbeth*:

" 'Tis call'd the evil:
A most miraculous work in this good king;
Which often, since my here-remain in England,
I have seen him do. How he solicits heaven,
Himself best knows: but strangely visited people,
All swoln and ulcerous, pitiful to the eye,
The mere despair of surgery, he cures,
Hanging a golden stamp about their necks,
Put on with holy prayers: and 'tis spoken,
To the succeeding royalty he leaves
The healing benediction." (*Macbeth*, Act IV. Sc. iii.)

27. *a specific.* A medicine for a particular complaint.

in his third year. "Mrs. Johnson acted by the advice of the celebrated Sir John Floyer, then a physician in Lichfield.'' Dr. Johnson afterwards "had a confused, but somehow a sort of solemn recollection of a lady in diamonds, and a long black hood." (*Boswell.*)

29. *Queen Anne* was the daughter of James II. and Anne Hyde, his first wife, daughter of Earl of Clerendon. She reigned from 1702-1714.

31. *stomacher.* A kind of pointed bodice covering the front of the body. In this case ornamented with diamonds.

32. *Her hand was applied in vain.* As Queen Anne was not the rightful sovereign, but the Pretender (son of James II.), her touch would have no power; as Boswell suggested, "she should have taken him to Rome," to the Pretender's Court.

Page 53. 3. *deeply scarred.* Were disfigured by scars left by ulcers due to his scrofula.

3-4. *lost the sight of one eye.* "Young Johnson had the misfortune to be much afflicted with the scrofula, or king's evil, which disfigured a countenance naturally well formed, and hurt his visual nerves so much, that he did not see at all with one of his eyes, though its appearance was little different from that of the other." (*Boswell.*)

6. *Indolent as he was,* etc. "He discovered a great ambition to excel, which roused him to counteract his indolence. He was uncommonly inquisitive; and his memory was so tenacious, that he never forgot anything that he either heard or read." (*Boswell.*)

7-8. *at every school he was soon the best scholar.* "Talking to me once himself of his being much distinguished at school, he told me, 'they never thought to praise me by comparing me to any one; they never said, Johnson is as good a scholar as such a one; but such a one is as good a scholar as Johnson; and this was said but of one, but of Lowe; and I do not think he was a good scholar.'" (*Boswell.*) The first school Johnson attended was one for little children kept by a widow lady of the name of

Oliver. He subsequently went to the grammar-school of Lichfield and Stourbridge.

9-10. *was left to his own devices.* He was allowed to do what he pleased. "He had no settled plan of life ... ... yet he read a great deal in a desultory manner, ... as chance threw books in his way." (*Boswell.*)

16-17. *He read little Greek.* "What he read during these two years, he told me, was not works of mere amusement, not voyages and travels, but all literature, Sir, all ancient writers, all manly, though but little Greek." (*Boswell.*)

19. *Attic poetry.* He did not know Greek well enough to appreciate the best Greek literature. See Note on page 5, l. 24.

21. *library,* i.e., his father's book-shop at Lichfield.

22. *That Augustan ... ... taste, he never possessed.* See Note on page 1, l. 15.

"He had studied the bad writers of the middle ages till he had become utterly insensible to the Augustan elegance." (Macaulay in his "Essay on Milton.")

Latin and Greek have always been the chief subjects of study in public schools like Eton and Harrow.

26. *sixth form at Eton.* The highest class of Eton College, the famous public school near Windsor Castle, founded in 1440 by Henry VI.

27-28. *the great restorers of learning,* i.e., the great humanists, or men of letters prominent in the Revival of Learning. After the Dark Ages the study of classical literatures and art received a fresh impetus in the 14th and 15th centuries. Erasmus, Politian and Petrarch were among the greatest "restorers of learning."

29. *Petrarch's works.* Francisco Petrarch (1304-1374), best known by his sonnets in honour of his heroine Laura. He was also a Latin author, and it was these works that Johnson probably read. "Having imagined that his brother had hid some apples behind a large folio upon an upper shelf in his father's shop, he climbed up to search for them. There were no apples; but the large folio proved to be Petrarch, whom he had seen mentioned, in some preface, as one of the restorers of learning." (*Boswell.*)

33. *modern copies from the antique.* Petrarch's Latin was faulty, and Johnson's Latin prose shows marks of imitation of such bad models as Petrarch.

37. *to pore upon books.* To read carefully and attentively.

Page 54. 1-2. *his business declined etc.* "Being a man of good sense and skill in his trade, he acquired a resonable share of wealth, of which however he afterwards lost the greatest part, by engaging unsuccessfully in a manufacture of parchment." (*Boswell.*)

3. *defrayed.* Paid.

4. *at either University,* i. e. Oxford or Cambridge.

5. *a wealthy neighbour offered assistance.* "That a man in Mr. Michael Johnson's circumstances should think of sending his son to the expensive University of Oxford, at his own charge, seems very improbable. The subject was too delicate to question Johnson upon; but I have been assured by Dr. Taylor, that the scheme never would have taken place;

had not a gentleman of Shropshire, one of his schoolfellows, spontaneously undertaken to support him at Oxford, in the character of his companion though, in fact, he never received any assistance whatever from that gentleman." (*Boswell.*) The wealthy gentleman is possibly his godfather Dr. Swinfen, though it is not certain.

7. *Pembroke College, Oxford,* was founded in 1624, and was so called after the Earl of Pembroke, who was, at the time, Chancellor of the University. "Being himself a poet, Johnson was peculiarly happy in mentioning how many of the sons of Pembroke were poets; adding, with a smile of sportive triumph, 'Sir, we are a nest of singing birds.'" (*Boswell.*)

8. *the rulers of that society.* The Master and the Tutors of the College.

9-10. *ungainly figure and eccentric manners.* Boswell tells us that when father and son were introduced to the College authorities Michael Johnson informed them that his boy was "a good scholar, and a poet, and wrote Latin verses. His figure and manner appeared strange to them: but he behaved modestly, and sat silent, till upon something which occurred in the course of conversation, he suddenly struck in and quoted Macrobius: and thus he gave the first impression of that more extensive reading in which he had indulged himself."

12. *desultory.* Unmethodical, inconstant.

14. *quoting Macrobius.* Macrobius was a Latin grammarian, commentator and antiquarian, who flourished in the 5th century.

one of the most learned. Dr. Adams who said of Johnson to Boswell, "I was his nominal tutor; but he was above my mark."

15. *a freshman.* See Note on Page 5, l. 33.

17. *during about three years.* So Boswell tells us. This is a rather loose statement. Johnson was in residence only from Oct. 31, 1728 to December 12, 1729. After this he left the College, though his name remained on the books till 1731.

18. *He was poor even to raggedness.* Here 'to' has the sense of degree: 'he was poor to the degree of being raggedly clad.'

20-1. *the quadrangle of Christ Church.* See Note on Page 1. l. 5.

"Mr. Bateman's (atutor of Christ Church) lectures were so excellent, that Johnson used to come and get them at second-hand from Taylor, till his poverty being so extreme, that his shoes were worn out, and his feet appeared through them, he saw that this humiliating circumstance was perceived by the Christ-Church men, and he came no more." (*Boswell.*)

23. *Some charitable person,* etc. "He was too proud to accept of money and somebody having set a pair of new shoes at his door, he threw them away with indignation." (*Boswell.*)

24-5. *not servile but reckless.* Dr. Adams told Boswell that at Pembroke College Johnson "was caressed and loved by all about him, was a gay and frolicsome fellow, and passed there the happiest time of his life." When this account was reported to Johnson, he said: "Ah, Sir, I was mad and violent. It was bitterness which they mistook for frolic. I was miserably poor, and I thought to fight my way by my literature and my wit; so I disregarded all power and all authority." (Boswell.)

25-6. *gentleman commoner.* A name formerly given at Oxford University to a student of independent means. A 'gentleman commoner' possessed many privileges and dined at the high table with the dons. All undergraduates are now equally "commoners."

26. *panting for one and twenty.* Longing to come of age and be independent of college authority.

27. *treated.........gross disrespct.* Macaulay had probably in his mind the following anecdote mentioned in Boswell's *Life*, as related by Johnson to Boswell: "The first day after I came to college, I waited upon him [Mr. Jorden, fellow of Pembroke], and then stayed away four. On the sixth, Mr. Jorden asked me why I had not attended. I answered, I had been sliding in Christ-church meadow: and this I said with as much *nonchalance* as I am now talking to you." It also appears from a letter of the Bishop of Dromore to Boswell (referred to in the *life*) that Johnson took pleasure in vexing the tutors and fellows of his college.

28. *The needy scholar* etc. "I have heard from some of his contemporaries that he was generally seen lounging at the College gate, with a circle of young students round him, whom he was entertaining with wit, and keeping from their studies, if not spiriting them up to rebellion against the College discipline, which in his maturer years he so much extolled."—Letter of Dr. Percy, Bishop of Dromore, to Boswell.

30. *effigy.* A statue. Johnson's statue was placed at the gate of Pembroke because his room was over the gateway.

31. *dirty linen.* Johnson had 'no passion for clean linen.'

32. *undisputed ascendency.* A position of authority such that no one would dispute.

36. *Pope's Messiah.* "Messiah," a secred eclogue, or pastoral, in imitation of Virgil's *Pollio*, published in the *Spectator*, May 14, 1712. Johnson translated it as a Christmas exercise, with the great applause of his college. For Pope, see Note on page 12, l. 17.

37. *Virgilian.* After the manner of Virgil. Publius Virgilius Maro, the greatest of Latin poets (70 B.C.-19 B.C.), author of the *Æneid* and *Georgics* and *Eclogues.* Macaulay criticizes Johnson's verse just as he criticizes Atterbury's (Cp. Page 1) in very vague and general terms.

Page 55. 1. *The translation found many admirers, etc.* "It is said that Mr. Pope expressed himself concerning it in terms of strong approbation. Dr. Taylor told me that it was first printed for old Mr. Johnson, without the knowledge of his son, who was very angry when he heard of it. A *Miscellany of Poems* collected by a person of the name of Husbands, was published at Oxford in 1731. In that *Miscellany* Johnson's translation of the *Messiah* appeared." (*Boswell.*) Pope is reported to have said, "The writer of this poem will leave it a question for posterity, whether his or mine be the original."

56. *promises of support.* His wealthy neighbour had not kept his promise.

7. *His family could do nothing for him, etc.* "His debts in College, though not great, were increasing; and his scanty remittances from Lichfield, which had all along been made with great difficulty, could be supplied

no longer, his father having fallen into a state of insolvency. Compelled, therefore, by irresistible necessity, he left the College in autumn 1731, without a degree, having been a member of it little more than three years. . . . . And now Samuel Johnson returned to his native city, destitute, and not knowing how he should gain even a decent livelihood. His father's misfortunes in trade rendered him unable to support his son; and for some time there appeared no means by which he could maintain himself. In the December of this year his father died. The state of poverty in which he died appears from a note in one of Johnson's little diaries of the following year, which strongly displays his spirit and virtuous dignity of mind. I laid by eleven guineas on this day, when I received twenty pounds, being all that I have reason to hope for out of my father's effects, previous to the death of my mother; an event which I pray God may be very remote. I now therefore see that I must make my own fortune." (*Boswell.*)

11. *a pittance.* A meagre income.

18. *an unsound body and an unsound mind.* The contrary of the well-known Latin expession, *mens sana in corpore sano*, 'a sound mind in a sound body.'

19. *hereditary malady.* The extreme melancholy that he inherited from his father. "The 'morbid melancholy,' which was lurking in his constitution, and to which we may ascribe those particularities, and that aversion to regular life, which at a very early period marked his character, gathered such strength in his twentieth year, as to afflict him in a dreadful manner. While he was at Lichfield, in the college vacation of the year 1729, he felt himself overwhelmed with horrible hypochondria, with perpetual irritation, fretfulness, and impatience: and wlth a dejection, gloom, and despair, which made existence misery. From this dismal malady he never afterwards was perfectly relieved; and all his labours, and all his enjoyments, were but temporary interruptions of its baleful influence." (*Boswell.*)

21. *He said long after, etc.* "I inherited a vile melancholy from my father, which has made me mad all my life, at least not sober." (Boswell's *Hebrides*, Sept. 16, 1773.)

24. *absolving felons, etc.* The law excuses insane criminals, and refuses to carry out the wills of those who were insane when writing the will.

28. *fit of absence.* In an absent-minded mood.

twitch off a lady's shoe. 'To twitch off' is to pluck off with a jerk. The opinion of Boswell was that the distemper from which Johnson suffered was St. Vitus' Dance. Pope agreed with Boswell that Johnson suffered from convulsions.

29. *He would amaze a drawing-room, etc.* "Talking to himself was, indeed, one of his singularities ever since I knew him. I was certain that he was frequently uttering pious ejaculations; for fragments of the Lord's Prayer have been distinctly overheard." (*Boswell.*) "Drawing-room" is here used to mean all the people in the drawing-room.

30. *Lord's Prayer.* The model of prayer given by Jesus Christ to his disciples: "Our Father, which art in heaven," etc.

31. *Alley.* "Sir Joshua Reynolds has observed him to go a good way

about, rather than cross a particular alley in Leicesterfields but this Sir Joshua imputed to his having had some disagreeable recollection associated with it." (*Boswell.*)

31 *Set his heart.* Was determined.

33. *touching every post, etc.* "Upon every post as he passed along, he deliberately laid his hand; but, missing one of them, when he had got at some distance, he seemed suddenly to recollect himself, and immediately returning performed the accustomed ceremony, and resumed his former course, not omitting one till he gained the crossing. This, Mr. Sheridan assured me, was his constant practice."

Page 56. 2. *poring on the town clock.* "He told Mr. Paradise that he was sometimes so languid and inefficient, that he could not distinguish the hour upon the town-clock." (*Boswell.*)

4. *calling him by his name.* "He mentioned a thing as not infrequent of which I had never heard before—being *called*... He said that one day at Oxford, as he was turning the key of his chamber, he heard his mother distinctly call—*Sam*. She was then in Lichfield; but nothing ensued." (*Boswell.*)

6. *a dark tinge.* A gloomy colour. Johnson took a melancholy view of the nature and fate of mankind.

11. *afraid of death.* Boswell frequently refers to his terror of death. "I mentioned to him that I had seen the execution of several convicts ot Tyburn, two days before, and that none of them seemed to be under any concern. *Johnson.* 'Most of them, Sir, have never thought at all.' *Boswell.* 'But is not the fear of death natural to man?' *Johnson.* 'So much so, Sir, that the whole of life is but keeping away the thoughts of it.' He then, in a low and earnest tone, talked of his meditating upon the awful hour of his own dissolution, and in what manner he should conduct himself upon that 'occasion: I know not (said he) whether I should wish to have a friend by me, or have it all between God and myself.'"

12-13. *In religion he found etc.* His religion did not comfort him in his attacks of melancholy, for his religion was equally gloomy.

15. *The light from heaven etc.* The light of religion is compared to the light of the sun. Just as light passing through the *medium*, say of water or of a prism, changes colour and direction (is *refracted*) so the light of religion was *refracted*, passing through the medium of Johnson's melancholy, as it were a thick fog.

22. *at two and twenty.* Johnson's father died in Dec. 1731.

26. *Henry Hervey.* The Hon. Henry Hervey was the third son of the first Earl of Bristol. When he was in the army he was stationed at Lichfield and there Johnson got to know him. Hervey afterwards abandoned the army, and entered the church. Johnson said of him: "He was a vicious man but very kind to me." He entertained Johnson afterwards in London.

28. *Gilbert Walmesley.* "He was one of the first friends that literature procured me," said Johnson. "At this man's table I enjoyed many cheerful and instructive hours, with companions, such as are not often found—with one who has lengthened and one who has gladdened life;

with Dr. James whose skill in physic will be long remembered, and with David Garrick." (Quoted by Boswell from Johnson's Life of Edmund Smith.)

Registrar. He registered and arranged the business of the Church Court of the diocese of Lichfield. (Greek *ecclesia*, a church.)

30. *did himself honour.* His kindness to Johnson was an honour to him.

31. *repulsive person etc.* His unattractive appearance, the roughness of his manners and his dirty dress.

35. *Usher of a grammar school* at Market-Bosworth. He was forced to go on foot and was extremely unhappy there.

An "usher" is literally a servant who introduces visitors, thence an assistant teacher in a mean position.

36. *a humble companion etc.* To Sir Wolstan Dixie, patron of the school, with whom he lived "as a kind of domestic chaplain. . . . but was treated with . . . . intolerable harshness."

Page 57. 1. *Birmingham.* He stayed at Birmingham with a friend Mr. Hector in the house of a bookseller, Warren, for whom he did "literary drudgery," contributing to his newspaper, the "Birmingham Journal."

4. *a Latin book* . . . . 'Voyage to Abyssinia,' by Jeronimo Lobo, a Portuguese Jesuit. Johnson made an abridgment and translation of it into English. For this work he received five guineas from the bookseller Warren. "It is reasonable to suppose," says Boswell, "that his having been thus accidentally led to a particular study of the history and manners of Abyssinia, was the remote occasion of his writing, many years afterwards, his admirable philosophical tale [*Rasselas*], the principal scene of which is laid in that country."

Johnson's translation was made not from the Latin original, but from a later French version.

6. *Politian.* See Note on page 3, l. 10.

9-10. *Johnson fell in love etc.* Mrs. Porter was the widow of a draper of Johnson's acquaintance in Birmingham. She was forty-eight years old when she married Johnson, who was twenty-six, on July 9th 1736. Her daughter Lucy was then twenty-one years old and she had two grown-up sons, one of whom was in the Navy.

"Johnson had from his early youth, been sensible to the influenee of female charms," and had had various attachments, in particular to Olivia Lloyd, a young Quaker, and to his friend Hector's sister.

12. *the lady appeared* . . . . Boswell says that Garrick described her to him "as very fat, with a bosom of more than ordinary protuberance, with swelled cheeks, of a florid red, produced by thick painting, and increased by the liberal use of cordials; flaring and fantastic in her dress, and affected both in her speech and her general behaviour."

14. *Provincial* . . . . *graces.* The rough, rustic graces of the provinces or the country as opposed to the more polished elegance of a great city.

15. *of the Queensberrys and Lepels,* i. e., the graces of famous beauties like Lady Queensberry and Mary Lepel.

Lady Catherine Hyde (1700-1777), Duchess of Queensberry by her marriage, was noted for her beauty, her wit and eloquence. She moved in literary circles and was a friend of the great eighteenth-century poets, one of whom, Prior, celebrated her charms which "set the world on fire." Horace Walpole in 1771 speaks of "Prior's Kitty, ever fair."

Mary Lepel, afterwards Lady Hervey (1700-1768), was a celebrated court beauty, whose sense and eloquence are praised by Chesterfield in his *Letters to his Son.*

17. *ceruse.* Ceruse is a preparation of white lead used to whiten the skin, as rouge is used to heighten its colour.

19. *of real fashion.* One who moves in the highest ranks of society.

his Titty. Titty or Tetsey was his pet name for his wife, "like Betty or Betsey provincially used" as a diminutive for Elizabeth.

22. *as poor as himself.* Johnson's mother objected to their marriage on this account, but Mrs. Porter seems to have had a secured settlement of seven or eight hundred pounds though her husband died insolvent. At any rate, says Macaulay, Johnson did not marry her for her money.

24. *addresses.* The courtship or offers of marriage.

might have been her son. See Note on ll. 9-10 above.

25. *wranglings.* She was too cleanly a housewife for Johnson's comfort, and there were disputes about food, says Boswell.

27. *illusions of the wedding day.* The happy belief that newly-wedded people have in each other. Johnson's love for his wife was of the most ardent kind, says Boswell, and it was unimpaired by the lapse of time.

29. *inscription.* Johnson wrote a Latin epitaph which he had cut on her tomb-stone, describing her "beautiful, accomplished, clever and pious, ... much loved and long mourned."

32. "*Pretty creature.*" Speaking of their wedding-day Johnson said to Mrs. Thrale, "I believe there was a tear or two, pretty, dear creature!"

34-35. *He took a house etc.* "He now set up a private academy, for which purpose he hired a large house, well situated near his native city. In the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for 1736, there is the following advertisement:—

'*At* EDIAL, *near Lichfield, in Staffordshire, young gentlemen are boarded and taught the Latin and Greek languages* by SAMUEL JOHNSON.'

"But the only pupils that were put under his care were the celebrated David Garrick and his brother George, and a Mr. Offely, a young gentleman of good fortune who died early." (*Boswell.*)

Page 58. 3. *Ogre's den.* The cave of a monster or giant, in old stories.

6. *David Garrick* (1717-1779) was the most celebrated actor of his time and one of the great names of English stage-history. He went to London in 1737 in the company of his tutor Johnson and finally went on the stage. His success was immediate on his first appearance as Richard the Third, in 1741. He became connected with Drury Lane Theatre, of which he was manager in 1741, made a large fortune and retired in 1776. He was buried in Westminster Abbey.

8. *mimicking.* Imitating. "I have seen Garrick exhibit her (Mrs. Johnson) by his exquisite talent of mimicry, so as to excite the heartiest bursts

of laughter." (*Boswell.*)

13. *tragedy of Irene.* He wrote this tragedy while keeping his school at Edial Hall. It is a fairly tiresome heroic play dealing with the loves of Greek heroes and heroines (Irene is the chief heroine) which are thwarted by Turkish villains. Irene is slain by the jealous Sultan.

20. *sinecure.* A place with a salary but without duties. (Latin, *sine cura*, without care.) Congreve was so rewarded.

21. *he might hope to be.* Steele was a member of Parliament, Montague Auditor of the Exchequer, Stepney, Prior and Gay had important embassies, Addison was Secretary of State. All these appointments were mainly rewards for literary work.

24. *writers of the nineteenth century.* Scott made £40,000 in a few years. Macaulay himself received a cheque for £20,000 for part of his *History of England.* Byron and Dickens made fortunes by their writings.

28. *Literature had ceased, etc.* "It was a dark night between two sunny days. The age of patronage had passed away. The age of general curiosity and intelligence had not arrived." (Macaulay, "Essay on Boswell's Johnson.")

Notice how Macaulay has here repeated this earlier observation in the form of a balanced epigram.

It was then the day of "subscription editions", the beginning of popular support of literature.

32. *a handsome fortune.* Pope received about eight hundred pounds for his translation of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey.*

33. *on a footing of equality, etc.* Of equal standing or rank.

Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, and Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke, both famous ministers of state, were Pope's friends.

36. *Thomson.* James Thomson (1700-1748) was a Scottish poet who came to London to seek his fortune. The famous *Seasons* appeared from 1726 to 1730 (" Winter " 1726, " Summer " 1727, " Spring" 1728, "Autumn" 1730) and gained instant success. *The Castle of Indolence* is the only other poem of Thomson which is still read.

In spite of sinecures and rewards Thomson was frequently in debt.

Page 59. 1. *Fielding.* Henry Fielding (1707-1754), one of the very greatest of English novelists. His *History of Tom Jones* is in its kind unrivalled in literature. *Joseph Andrews* and *Amelia* are the chief of his other works, which include several plays acted with fair success. Fielding was well enough paid for his work but was incurably lavish and careless with his money.

Pasquin. A dramatic satire by Fielding, published in 1736. It was a considerable success owing to its attack on Walpole, who was then Minister.

2-3. *The Beggar's Opera.* An opera by John Gay (1688-1732), produced in 1728. It is said to have been suggested by a remark of Swift to Gay "that a Newgate pastoral might make a pretty sort of thing."

It had a run of sixty-two nights. The hero is Captain Macheath, a highwayman. The whole is a parody on Italian romantic opera, and political allusions added interest to its songs and sentiments.

3. *pawning.* Pledging for a loan of money, to a pawnbroker.

4. *tripe at a cookshop underground.* Tripe or cooked stomach is a cheap form of food. Such cookshops of the poorer sort were in rooms below the street-level.

7. *privations.* Hardships.

8. *novice.* A beginner, literally a monk or nun who has taken the first vows.

9. *one of the publishers.* Wilcox. The story was told to Johnson himself by Mr. John Nichols. Wilcox did not say anything about "carrying trunks." Johnson said, however, that he was one of his best friends.

A porter carries trunks by means of a looped rope with a running knot.

16. *literary connection.* Employment as a writer.

33. *confirmed sloven.* Of incurably dirty habits.

35. *ravenous greediness.* Ravenous, like a wild beast. "I never knew any man who relished good eating more than he did. When at table he was totally absorbed in the business of the moment; his looks seemed rivetted to his plate; nor would he, unless when in very high company, say one word, or even pay the least attention to what was said by others, till he had satisfied his appetite: which was so fierce, and indulged with such intenseness, that while in the act of eating, the veins of his forehead swelled, and generally a strong perspiration was visible. To those whose sensations were delicate, this could not but be disgusting." (*Boswell.*)

36. *the sight of food etc.* Macaulay's rhetoric makes him exaggerate even this exaggerated weakness of Johnson.

Page 60. 1-2. *His taste in cookery.* Johnson did not think so. "He was, or affected to be a man of very nice taste in the science of cookery," says Boswell.

2. *subterranean ordinaries.* Underground eating places. *Ordinary* was a term applied to a dinner at a fixed price, afterwards applied to the eating-house itself.

2-3. *a la mode beef-shops.* Eating-houses which supplied the latest dishes. *A la mode* is a Fr. expression meaning, "in the fashion."

5. *gorged himself.* Literally, filled himself to the throat. See Note on l. 35.

9. *sycophancy.* Servility or mean flattery.

11. *The insolence etc.* Johnson had a right to be insolent to his enemies, but he was unpardonably insolent even to his friends.

14, *provoked into striking.* He was made so angry that he actually struck those who were disrespectful to him.

17. *Osborne.* Thomas Osborne was a bookseller in Gray's Inn. Johnson was cataloguing the Harleian Library for him and was insulted by him. "It has been confidently related, with many embellishments, that Johnson one day knocked Osborne down in his shop with a folio, and put his foot upon his neck. The simple truth I had from Johnson himself. 'Sir, he was impertinent to me, and I beat him. But it was not in his shop: it was in my own chamber." (*Boswell.*) "I have beat many a fellow, but the rest had the wit to hold their tongues," said Johnson afterwards.

20. *to puff.* To advertise, or praise.

the Harleian Library. The famous library of Harley, Earl of Oxford, which Osborne had bought for £13,000.

21. *About a year after ......* Boswell says:—"The *Gentleman's Magazine,* begun and carried on by Mr. Edward Cave, under the name of Sylvanus Urban, had attracted the notice and esteem of Johnson, in an eminent degree, before he came to London as an adventurer in literature ...... His first performance in the *Gentleman's Magazine,* which for many years was his principle source for employment and support, was a copy of Latin verses, in March, 1738, addressed to the editor.

"It appears that he was now enlisted by Mr. Cave as regular coadjutor in his magazine, by which he probably obtained a tolerable livelihood. At what time, or by what means, he had acquired a competent knowledge both of French and Italian, I do not know but he was so well skilled in them as to be sufficiently qualified for a translator."

26. *periodical work.* A work that appears at regular periods, weekly or monthly etc., as opposed to a *journal,* which appears daily.

a large circulation. It had a circulation of 10,000 which Johnson is said to have increased to 15,000.

29-30. *during a recess.* The interval between two sessions of Parliament is known as the *recess.* Open criticism or reports of debates in Parliament were not allowed, even when the house was not in session, until 1771, after the famous Wilkes affair.

32-33. *Reports of the Debates of the Senate of Lilliput.* The first part of Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* relates the adventures of Lemúel Gulliver, in a voyage to the country of Lilliput. Under this name Swift satirized England. Most of the names here given, Blefusco, Mildendo, etc. were borrowed from *Gulliver's Travels.*

34. *sprugs.* In the kingdom of Lilliput, the "sprug" is the greatest gold coin.

the Duke of Newcastle. Thomas Pelham, Duke of Newcastle (1693-1764), one of the two Pelhams who were long Secretaries of State under Whig administration.

He was twice Premier, on the first occasion from 1754 to 1756 and from 1757 to 1762. The emperor of Lilliput created Gulliver a *nardac,* which is the highest title of honour among them.

35. *Lord Hardwicke* (1690-1769) was a great lawyer, Chief Justice of the King's Bench in 1733, Lord Chancellor in 1737. Hardwicke is pronounced as if it were spelled *Hardick,* and thus by transposition we get *Hickrad*; *Hurgo* is the name of a nobleman holding the rank of an *Earl* in the kingdom of Lilliput.

36. *William Pulteney* (1682-1764), the famous leader of a Whig faction opposed to Walpole, the great Whig minister. Then the "Patriots" and the "Boys" led by Pitt joined the Tories in opposition. His name is indicated in this disguised form of Wingal Pulnal, by the first two or three letters. Pulteney became Earl of Bath in 1741.

Page 61. 3. *sometimes he had to find arguments, etc.* The notes brought to Johnson from the Houses of Parliament were so scanty that sometimes "he had nothing more communicated to him than the names of the several speakers and the part which they had taken in the debate." Consequently he had to *invent* speeches and imaginary arguments. William Guthrie used to furnish notes for some time and Cave himself, but Johnson never was in the House. His reports of the debates are therefore far from authentic.

4. *the Ministry.* The Government or Ministers of the King, and their supporters.

the Opposition. The party in Parliament which opposes the Government.

5. *a Tory.* See Note on page 2, l. 17.

from rational conviction. He was not convinced by his reason.

6. *one form of government, etc.* "I would not give half a guinea to live under one form of Government rather than another," said Johnson once.

8. *the Capulets against the Montagues.* These were two families of Verona, between which there was an ancient feud, though the cause of it was unknown. Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* relates one incident of this feud, the tragedy which ended it.

9. *The Blues. . . . the Greens.* In the great circus at Rome chariot races were frequently run. Two chief *factions* or parties were rivals in this sport, called the Greens and the Blues, from the colours worn by the drivers and by their partizans, in the times of the Empire. These parties gained in numbers and took on political and mystical signification. There were frequent and bloodthirsty riots, the result of their rivalry, and a deadly enmity divided the two factions.

9-10. *In his infancy, etc.* Macaulay, a zealous Whig, endeavours to explain away Johnson's Toryism, and to show that it was no fault of his. It was hereditary, in the first place, and this humourously exaggerated sentence means that he lived, while a child, in a Tory atmosphere at home, where his father denounced the Whigs.

The "villainies of the Whigs" were the "Exclusion Bill" and the "Biil of Rights," embodying democratic principles, and threatening the monarchy, as the Tories believed.

"The dangers of the Church" refers to the "Act of Toleration" which tended to the decrease of the power of the Church.

12. *a furious partizan.* A violent supporter of a party; here a violent Tory.

13. *Before he was three, etc.* "When Dr. Sacheverell was at Lichfield, Johnson was not quite three years old. My grandfather Hammond observed him at the cathedral perched upon his father's shoulders, listening and gaping at the much celebrated preacher. Mr. Hammond asked Mr. Johnson how he could possibly think of bringing such an infant to church, and in the midst of so great a crowd. He answered, because it was impossible to keep him at home; for, young as he was, he believed he had caught the public spirit and zeal for Sacheverell, and would have stayed for ever in the church, satisfied with beholding him." (*Boswell.*)

14. *Sacheverell.* See Note on page 8, l. 30.

16. *Staffordshire squire.* According to Macaulay, their intelligence was altogether contemptible, equal perhaps to that of a child of three.

They were Tories, of course, and cannot command the respect of Macaulay.

A *squire* is a country gentleman and landed proprietor.

22-3. *Tom Tempest.* In the *Idler* No. 10, Johnson describes *Tom Tempest,* a foolish Jacobite, and *Jack Sneaker,* a miserable Whig. Both are furious partisans, and Tom Tempest relates strange things of the villainies of the Whigs.

23. *Charles II., and James II.,* etc. "Charles II. was the best King we have had from his time till the reign of his present Majesty [George III.], except James the Second, who was a very good King, but unhappily believed that it was necessary for the salvation of his subjects that they should be Roman Catholics," said Johnson.

24. *Laud, a poor creature, etc.* See Note on page 21, ll. 19-20.

Macaulay is here absolutely unjust to the very high ideals, however mistaken they may have been in Whig opinion, of Laud. He was a great churchman and a great administrator. Macaulay compares him to "an old woman," doubtless because of his extreme bigotry. It is cheap sarcasm, and tasteless.

26. *a prodigy of parts.* A man of prodigious capacity.

27. *over whose tomb, etc.* Johnson celebrates Laud in his poem *The Vanity of Human Wishes.*

"See, when the vulgar 'scapes, despis'd or aw'd,
Rebellion's vengeful talons seize on Laud . . . .
Mark'd out by dang'rous parts, he meets the shock,
And fatal Learning leads him to the block:
Around his tomb let Art and Genius weep,
But hear his death, ye blockheads, hear and sleep!"

28. *Hampden.* John Hampden (1594-1643), one of the first leaders of the Puritan Opposition to Charles I. During the Civil War he fought on the side of the Parliament and was killed at Chalgrove Field in 1643.

29. *"the zealot of rebellion."* A fanatic in the cause of rebellion.

ship money. This was a tax imposed by Charles I., originally for the provision of ships, then as a general tax converted to the King's use in 1634. In 1636, Hampden refused to pay it and his trial roused bitter feeling against Charles.

30. *Falkland.* Lucious Carey, Viscount Falkland (1610-1643), was killed at the battle of Newbury in the Civil War, Sept. 1643, fighting on the Royalist side. Falkland was on the side of the Parliament on the subject of Ship-money, though he sided with the king when the war began.

Clarendon. Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon (1608-1664), a Royalist. He was Charles the Second's chief minister after the Restoration and wrote the famous *History of the Rebellion.* His daughter Anne was the first wife of the Duke of York, afterwards James II.

31. *Roundheads.* This was the name applied by the Cavaliers to the Puritans who wore their hair cropped very short.

32. *an unconstitutional impost.* A tax imposed on a people contrary to the constitution of the nation.

35-6. *he fancied......... a slave.* Johnson's juvenile poem *London* (1738) attacks Walpole's Goverhment very unjustly. He speaks of the "cheated nation" and "Oppression's insolence." He afterwards made amends by speaking of Walpole as "a fixed star."

36-7. *obloquy which refuted itself.* Johnson's condemnation of the Government was so extreme that it was absurd.

Page 62. 1. *golden days.* The reign of Charles I. ironically so called by Macaulay.

3. *pilloried.* The *pillory* was a wooden frame on posts with holes through which were put the head and hands of an offender. Those who were pilloried were abused and assailed with stones, etc.

mangled with the shears. Mutilated by having their ears cut off or their noses slit.

3-4. *whipped at the cart's tail.* Bound to the rear of a cart driven slowly through the streets, and beaten the while.

4. *noisome.* Evil-smelling.

5. *stock-jobbers,* or stock and share brokers. The scandal of the South Sea Bubble (1720) is probably referred to.

6. *septennial parliaments.* The Septennial Act (a Whig measure), was passed in 1716. L. *septennium,* a period of seven years.

Continental connections. Alliances with European nations.

7. *an aversion to the Scotch.* This aversion was mainly a whim, which he indulged in order to say witty things, such as the following: A Scotchman having ventured to praise the scenery of his native land Johnson exclaimed, "Sir, let me tell you, the noblest prospect which a Scotchman ever sees, is the highroad that leads him to England!"

10. *the Great Rebellion.* The Civil War of Charles the First's reign.

16. *saved appearances.* Made a show of fairplay.

22. *he published a work.* The poem *London,* in imitation of the Third Satire of Juvenal, published in May 1738. "Everybody was delighted with it; and there being no name to it, the first buzz of the literary circles was, 'here is an unknown poet, greater even than Pope.'" (*Boswell.*)

One familiar quotation is contained in this poem: —

"This mournful truth is everywhere confess'd
Slow rises worth by poverty depress'd."

26. *Juvenal had described, etc.* Juvenal was a Roman satirist who was born in 55 A.D., and died about 135 A.D. His satires are very forcible, and coarse.

Juvenal speaks of a place "where only a single tile affords one protection from the rain, and where the gentle pigeons lay their eggs."

28. *tottering garrets.* Ruined attics.

29. *Pope's imitations of Horace's Satires and Epistles.* These imitations were issued between 1730 and 1740.

Horace. Quintus *Horatius* Flaccus (65 B. C.—8 B. C.) was a distinguished Latin poet and satirist of the Augustan period. He is best known by his *Odes* and *Epistles.*

Page 63. 7-8. *Pope's peculiar department.* The species of literature that Pope most excelled in.

13. *Pope exerted himself, etc.* "Pope, without any knowledge of him but from his *London,* recommended him to Earl Gower, who endeavoured

to procure for him a degree from Dublin" by means of a letter written to a friend of Dean Swift. The "Grammar-school" was at Appleby. The appointment was worth £60 a year, and Johnson would have had it, if he had the degree of Master of Arts.

16. *a bookseller's hack.* A *hack* is a horse kept for hire. Here it means a writer whom every bookseller can hire, a "hackwriter."

20. *they lived in different circles, etc.* Pope moved in the highest society and Johnson in the lowest.

21-2. *pamphleteers and index-makers.* Those engaged in the meanest kind of literary work.

23. *Boyse.* Samuel Boyse (1708-1749), the son of a Dublin clergyman, and a poet of sorts; one of Cave's hack-writers. Boswell relates that on one occasion, "Dr. Johnson collected a sum of money to redeem his friend's clothes which in two days after were pawned again. 'The sum,' said Johnson, 'was collected by six pences, at a time when to me sixpence was a serious consideration.'" Boyse was not killed by being accidentally run over (as Macaulay states), but died of consumption.

28. *Hoole.* John Hoole, the uncle of the well-known translator of Tasso and Ariosto. "Mr. Hoole [the poet] told him, he was born in Moorfields, and had received part of his early instruction in Grub Street. 'Sir,' said Johnson smiling, 'you have been *regularly* educated.' Having asked who was his instructor, and Mr. Hoole having answered, 'My uncle, Sir, who was a tailor;' Johnson, recollecting himself, said, 'Sir, I knew him; the *metaphysical tailor*. He was of a club in Old Street, with me and George Psalmanazar, and some others; but pray, Sir, was he a good tailor?' Mr. Hoole having answered that he believed he was too mathematical, and used to draw squares and triangles on his shop board, so that he did not excel in the cut of a coat; — 'I am sorry for it,' said Johnson, 'for I would have every man to be master of his own business.'" (*Boswell.*)

Metaphysical means of a philosophical turn of mind.

31. *George Psalmanazar* (1679-1763), a Frenchman. The name was an assumed one, of Assyrian origin. Always eager for notice, and having learned much from his Jesuit masters of the missions to Japan and China, he gradually began to assume the character of a native of those climes; and later wrote an imaginary account of Formosa customs, with memoirs of himself. He even invented a jargon. For a long time the imposture prevailed. He traded artfully on Protestant prejudices, but was at last exposed. He then became an industrious hack writer, gave up his eccentricities, and seems to have enjoyed respect and esteem. In all his strange life there is nothing stranger than the esteem expressed for him by Johnson. He was the man he 'sought after most,' 'the best man he ever knew,' a man whom 'he would as soon think of contradicting as a bishop,' and whose 'piety, penitence, and virtue exceeded almost what we read of as wonderful even in the lives of the saints.'

32. *Jewish rabbis.* Jewish doctors or expounders of the law.

33. *Christian Fathers.* Teachers and writers of the early Christian Church.

36. *Richard Savage* (1698-1743). This extraordinary individual

claimed to be an illegitimate son of Anne, Countess of Macclesfield, and Earl Rivers. He was a writer of plays and poems, mostly unsuccessful, and attacked his reputed mother violently in a poem *The Bastard*. He died in a debtors' prison at Bristol. Johnson wrote his life in his series of Lives of the Poets.

Page 64. 1. *blue ribands.* The blue riband of the Knights of the Garter. He had dined with the men of the highest rank, who were his friends until he gave way to dissipation.

Saint James's Square. In the aristocratic quarter of London.

2. *had lain. . . . in the condemned ward of Newgate.* In a tavern quarrel Savage and his friend Gregory killed a man named Sinclair. "Mr. Savage and Mr. Gregory were conducted back to prison (Newgate), where they were more closely confined, and loaded with irons of fifty pounds weight." (Johnson's *Life of Savage.*) He was pardoned the year after.

3. *the condemned ward of Newgate.* The ward where condemned prisoners are kept in the famous prison of Newgate.

5-6. *His patrons had been taken away by death.* Queen Caroline allowed him £50 a year while she lived; her death occurred in 1737.

6-7. *estranged by the riotous profusion*, etc. Lord Tyrconnel, nephew of Lady Macclesfield, took him into family, and undertook to allow him £200 a year. But Savage was too insolent, intemperate and extravagant. He was soon turned out by his patron.

9. *He now lived by begging.* Subscriptions were repeatedly got up on his behalf, and he was a notorious borrower.

He dined on venison and champagne. This is an invention of Macaulay's, a humourous exaggeration. It is repeated from his Easter Essay. "Sometimes blazing in gold-laced hats and waist-coats; sometimes lying in bed because their coats had gone to pieces, or wearing paper cravats because their linen was in pawn; sometimes drinking Champagne and Tokay with Betty Careless.

11. *his questing.* "He wandered about the town, slighted and neglected in quest of a dinner, which he did not always obtain." (Johnson, *Life of Savage.*)

13. *Piazza of Covent Garden.* The covered colonnade round Covent Garden. See Note on page 5, l. 18.

20-1. *Mask of patriotism.* The disguise of patriotic purpose. Macaulay refers to the "Patriot" party. See Note on page 60, l. 36.

21. *the Prime Minister* etc. Johnson said that Walpole encouraged the telling of coarse stories at his table, "because in that all could join."

25-6. *Savage went to the West of England.* First he was sent to Wales, and then to Bristol, where he lived on a pension of £50, which was withdrawn on account of his evil life. He fell into debt, was arrested, and died in gaol.

32. *catchpenny lives.* Sensational accounts of popular eminent men, hawked on the streets at one penny a copy, and so written as to *catch* the pennies of the public.

33. *a staple article.* The principal commodity manufactured in a

place. There was a constant supply of these lives.

34. *Grub Street* is thus defined by Dr. Johnson himself in his *Dictionary*: "Originally the name of a street near Moorfields in London, much inhabited by writers of small histories, dictionaries, and temporary poems, whence any mean production is called *Grub Street*." It is now known as Milton Street.

35-6. *too partial to the Latin element of our language.* Too fond of using words of Latin origin. This standing criticism of Johnson's style has been exaggerated. His style is no more Latinized in this respect than Macaulay's, for example.

Page 65. 1. *any language, living or dead.* A dead language is one which is no longer spoken as the vernacular of a nation, such as Latin.

9. *Warburton.* Warburton referred to a pamphlet of Johnson, in the Preface to his Edition of Shakespeare, published in 1747 :—"As to all these things which have been published under the titles of *Essays, Remarks, Observations,* etc. on Shakespeare, if you except some Critical Notes on Macbeth, given as a specimen of a projected edition, and written, as appears, by a man of parts and genius, the rest are absolutely below a serious notice."

William Warburton (1698-1779), Bishop of Gloucester, is the famous commentator and editor of Shakespeare. Notorious for his arrogance as a critic.

12. *several eminent booksellers.* They were "Mr. Robert Dodsley, Mr. Charles Hitch, Mr. Andrew Millar, the two Messrs. Longman, and the two Messrs. Knapton. The price stipulated was fifteen hundred and seventy five pounds."

17. *several poor men.* He had six transcribers or amanuenses. "I understand that nothing was allowed by the booksellers on that account." (*Boswell.*)

17-8. *humbler parts.* The mechanical part of the work.

19. *The Prospectus.* The plan of the *Dictionary,* showing the system on which he proposed to work and containing specimen pages.

the Earl of Chesterfield. Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield (1694-1773). He was Viceroy of Ireland (1745-46), and one of the principal Secretaries of State from 1746 to 1748. He was the acknowledged leader of society and a great wit. Chesterfield's reputation is maintained by his Letters to his Son which are a manual of wit and eloquence.

24. *at a momentous conjuncture.* He was Viceroy at a critical period, *viz.* the Jacobite rebellion of '45. The Irish were still mainly Jacobites.

26. *Johnson's homage.* Johnson denied that he had sought the patronage of Chesterfield. "Johnson told me, 'Sir, the way in which the plan of my Dictionary came to be inscribed to Lord Chesterfield was this: I had neglected to write it by the time appointed. Dodsley suggested a desire to have it addressed to Lord Chesterfield. I laid hold of this as a pretext for delay, that it might be better done, and let Dodsley have his desire. I said to my friend, Dr. Bathurst, 'Now if any good comes of my addressing to Lord Chesterfield, it will be ascribed to deep policy when, in fact, it was only a casual excuse for laziness." (*Boswell.*)

27. *winning affability.* Attractive, pleading geniality.

30. *London mud,* i.e. from Johnson's boots.

his soups and wines, etc. Humorous exaggeration of Johnson's clumsy manners.

34. *cormorant.* A voracious bird which swallows fish whole, a greedy eater.

Page 66. 1. *took the hint.* Chesterfield denied this, and said he would have turned off the best servant he ever had, if he knew that he denied him to a man who was always welcome, as Johnson was.

9. *the Vanity of Human Wishes* was written in 1741 at Hampstead with extraordinary rapidity. He received only fifteen guineas for it. One couplet is frequently quoted from it :

> "He left the name, at which the world grew pale,
> To point a moral, or adorn a tale."

10. *The Tenth Satire of Juvenal.* The subject of this satire is the vanity of human wishes. Long life, power, fame are not to be greatly desired. Juvenal gives examples of the fate of men like Cicero and Sejanus. We must moderate our wishes. "Mens sana in corpore sano" (a sound mind in a sound body) is the highest blessing.

Johnson's poem, "the most Roman poem" in English, teaches the same moral, from the examples of Wolsey, Charles XII. etc.

It is written in "heroic verse" in rhymed couplets.

11. *the palm.* The superiority. The palm branches were carried as a sign of victory in ancient times.

13. *the fall of Wolsey.* Thomas Wolsey (1471-1530) was Archbishop of York, and chief Minister of Henry VIII. He aroused his master's jealousy, was arrested in York in 1530 on a charge of treason, and died on his way to London, at Leicester Abbey. The following are Johnson's lines:—

> "In full-blown dignity see Wolsey stand,
> Law in his voice, and fortune in his hand:
> To him the church, the realm, their pow'rs consign,
> Through him the rays of regal bounty shine,
> Turn'd by his nod the stream of honour flows,
> His smile alone security bestows;
> Still to new heights his restless wishes tow'r.
> Claim leads to claim, and pow'r advances pow'r;
> Till conquest unresisted ceas'd to please,
> And rights submitted left him none to seize.
> At length his sov'reign frowns—the train of state
> Mark the keen glance and watch the sign to hate;
> Where'er he turns, he meets a stranger's eye,
> His suppliants scorn him, and his followers fly;
> Now drops at once the pride of awful state,
> The golden canopy, the glitt'ring plate,
> The regal palace, the luxurious board,
> The liv'ried army and the menial lord.
> With age, with cares, with maladies oppress'd
> He seeks the refuge of monastic rest.
> Grief and disease, remember'd folly stings,
> And his last sighs reproach the faith of kings."

6. *Sejanus.* Aelius Sejanus was commander of the Praetorian guards in the reign of Tiberius (14-37). He murdered Drusus, the son of Tiberius

in 23 A. D., and afterwards as minister of the emperor, became virtual ruler of Rome. Aiming at the throne itself, Sejanus was put to a cruel death, in A.D. 31, by Tiberius.

laurels on the doorposts. The laurel was a sign of the rejoicing and triumph of his enemies.

16-7. *the white bull stalking towards the Capitol.* The bull was to be sacrificed to Jupiter at the Capitol Temple, as a sign of thanksgiving for the failure of the plots of Sejanus.

17-18. *the statues rolling down from their pedestals.* The statues of Sejanus were thrown to the ground.

22. *the Christian moralist,* i.e, Johnson. "The greast moralist" was a name commonly applied to Johnson because he wrote on morals or ethics.

22-23. *his advantages.* The advantages of one who had the example of Christ before him, which Juvenal, a Pagan, had not.

24. *Hannibal* (247 B. C. — 183 B. C.). One of the greatest soldiers of antiquity, he led the Carthaginian army in the wars against Rome. He invaded Italy and defeated the Romans but after fifteen years, in 202 B. C., was recalled to Carthage, was defeated by Scipio there, and finally poisoned himself.

25. *Johnson's Charles.* Charles XII. of Sweden is a modern example of "the warrior's pride."

"A frame of adamant, a soul of fire,
No dangers fright him, and no labours tire;
O'er love, o'er fear, extends his wide domain,
Unconquer'd lord of pleasure and of pain;
No joys to him pacific sceptres yield,
War sounds the trump, he rushes to the field;
Behold surrounding kings their powers combine,
And one capitulate, and one resign.
Peace courts his hand, but spreads her charms in vain;
'Think nothing gained,' he cries, 'till nought remain,
On Moscow's walls till Gothic standards fly,
And all be mine beneath the polar sky.'
The march begins in military state,
And nations on his eye suspended wait;
Stern Famine guards the solitary coast,
And Winter barricades the realms of Frost;
He comes, nor want, nor cold, his course delay; —
Hide, blushing Glory, hide Pultowa's day:
The vanquish'd hero leaves his broken bands,
And shows his miseries in distant lands;
Condemn'd a needy supplicant to wait,
While ladies interpose, and slaves debate.
But did not Chance at length her error mend?
Did no subverted empire mark his end?
Did rival monarchs give the fatal wound?
Or hostile millions press him to the ground?
His fall was destined to a barren strand,
A petty fortress, and a dubious hand;
He left the name at which the world grew pale,
To point a moral or adorn a tale."

(*Vanity of Human Wishes.*)

Charles XII. of Sweden reigned from 1697-1718. His life was spent in constant warfare on the continent. He invaded Denmark in 1700; defeated the Saxons and Poles 1701-06 ; but was defeated by Peter the Great at Pultowa, July 8, 1709, and escaped into Turkey. In 1718, while storming a fortress in Norway, he was killed by a musket-ball.

26. *the miseries of a literary life.*

> " Deign on the passing world to turn thine eyes,
> And pause awhile from learning to be wise ;
> There mark what ills the scholar's life assail,
> Toil, envy, want, the patron, and the jail.
> See nations slowly wise, and meanly just,
> To buried merit raise the tardy bust."
> (*Vanity of Human Wishes.*)

28. *Demosthenes* was the greatest orator of Greece (383 B. C. — 322 B. C.). His most celebrated speeches are the *Philippics* delivered against Philip of Macedon,

Cicero. See Note on Page 2, l. 36.

31. *his tragedy.* " Irene " was acted in 1749.

Page 67. 4. *of very different clay,* i. e. of very different natures.

7-8. *Johnson saw with more envy, etc.* He satirized Garrick's ostentation in the *Rambler.* (No. 200.)

9. *the little mimic, etc.* Garrick was a short man.

10. *grimaces, etc.* A contemptuous expression for *acting.* Johnson spoke contemptuously of actors at all periods of his life, and says explicitly that this was due partly to chagrin that his play of *Irene* was a failure and partly out of jealousy of Garrick's success and abounding prosperity.

14. *morose cynic.* A sullen person given to fault-finding.

15. *not acidulated with scorn.* Not accompanied by a stinging remark.

26-7. *five acts of monotonous declamation* i. e. a play of five acts full of tiresome, rhetorical eloquence, without any interest of action or passion.

31. *blank verse.* " Johnson was no admirer of blank verse, and said it always failed, unless sustained by the dignity of the subject. In blank verse, he said, the language suffered more distortion to keep it out of prose, than any inconvenience or limitation to be apprehended from the shackles and circumspection of rhyme." (*Boswell.*)

A change, etc. Johnson's blank verse was exactly like his heroic verse, except that the former was unrhymed. Blank verse, however, ought to be used in a different way altogether, in paragraphs, not pairs, of lines.

34-5. *benefit nights.* A performance given at a theatre, of which the proceeds go to an actor, or, to the author of the play, is called his *benefit.* Johnson got the profits of three nights, and these with the price given him for the copyright of *Irene,* (*viz.* £ 100) by Mr. Dodsley, amounted to to nearly £ 300.

Page 68. 4. *the Tatler.* This periodical, issued thrice a week, was edited by Richard Steel, assisted by Addison. The first number appeared on April 12, 1709, and the last on Jan. 2, 1711. The *Tatler* was a paper which tattled or spoke lightly and amusingly of town affairs.

5. *the Spectator.* This periodical was begun by Addison and Steel in March 1711. The *Spectator,* like the *Tatler,* gave an account of

contemporary manners. In it occur the Sir Roger de Coverley papers. It continued until Dec. 1712.

6. *Addison.* See Note on page 12, l. 9.

6-7. *The Lay Monastery, etc.* A succession of papers which appeared in the following order, the *Lay Monk* (1714), the *Censer* (1717), the *Freethinker* (1718-20), the *Plain Dealer* (1724-25), and the *Champion* (1739-40).

8-9. *had their short day.* Existed for a brief period.

11. *the curious.* Those who are interested in curiosities of literature.

14. *the Rambler.* "The first paper of the *Rambler* was published on Tuesday the 20th March 1749-50; and its author was enabled to continue it, without interruption, every Tuesday and Saturday, till Saturday the 17th of March 1752, on which day it closed." (*Boswell.*) See Note on Page 3, l. 13.

18. *Richardson.* Samuel Richardson (1689-1761), printer and novelist, wrote *Pamela* 1740, *Clarissa Harlowe* (written in a series of letters) 1748, and *Sir Charles Grandison* 1753. Johnson had a high opinion of Richardson. "There is more knowledge of the heart," he said, "in one letter of Richardson's than in all *Tom Jones.*"

20. *Young.* See Note on Page 33, l. 18. Johnson admired his *Night Thoughts* and said: "This is one of the few poems in which blank verse could not be changed for rhyme, but with disadvantage."

Hartly. David Hartley, an English materialistic philosopher. His chief work is "Observations on Man, his Frame, his Duty, and his Expectations" (1749). He explained all mental processes as founded upon minute nervous vibrations.

21. *Bubb Dodington,* a 'person of importance in his day,' was born plain Bubb in 1691, and took the name Dodington in 1720, on inheriting a fine property from his uncle. He was a favourite of Frederick, Prince of Wales, to whom he introduced *The Rambler.*

25. *Prince Frederick* was the eldest son of George II and Prince of Wales. He was on bad terms with his father, and opposed the King's policy. He died in 1751, in consequence of an injury received on the cricket-field, and his son, afterwards George III. became heir to the throne.

28. *Leicester House* was the palace of Prince Frederick.

29. *coldly received* i. e. by Johnson. He did not care for the "patronage of the great" after his experience of Chesterfield's neglect. Observe the careless repetition of this phrase in line 33, below.

36. *the flyng leaves.* The single numbers.

Page 69. 9-10. *diction . . obviously artificial . . , and turgid.* Johnson's stiff, cumbrous and often bombastic language has become proverbial under the name of "Johnsonese." But it is far from being *mere* bombast.

12-13. *the constant precision. . . of his language.* Johnson was careful to use words that exactly expressed his ideas. He was never vague.

16. *the question of precedence.* Boswell discusses this question: "It has of late been the fashion to compare the style of Addison and Johnson, and

to depreciate, I think, very unjustly, the style of Addison as nerveless and feeble because it has not the strength and energy of that of Johnson. . . Both are excellent, though in different ways. Addison writes with the ease of a gentleman. . . . . Johnson writes like a teacher. . . . . Addison's style, like a light wine, pleases everybody from the first. Johnson like a liquor of more body, seems too strong at first but by degrees is highly relished; and such is the melody of his periods, so much do they captivate the ear, and seize the attention, that there is scarcely any writer, however inconsiderable, who does not aim, in some degree, at the same species of excellence."

18. *posterity, etc.* Later generations have decided finally and definitely in favour of Addison.

19. *Sir Roger.* Sir Roger de Coverley, a kindly, simple, benevolent baronet of Coverley, near Oxford. He was the leading figure in the Spectator Club, whose doings were related in *The Spectator.*

19-20. *his chaplain and his butler.* See *Spectator* No. 106. The *chaplain,* like the other members of Sir Roger's household, had grown old in his service, having held his office for thirty years. The *butler* is Edward Biscuit.

20. *Will Wimble.* (See *Spectator* No. 108) who "starves like a gentleman."

Will Honeycomb. See *Spectator* No. 2. Will Honeycomb was a member of the Spectator Club and a beau, though advanced in years.

the Vision of Mirza. See *Spectator* No. 159. This is one of the finest of Addison's essays, and purports to give a translation of a MS. picked up at Grand Cairo, in which one Mirza sees a vision on the high hills of Bagdad. The paper is an allegory on life.

21. *the Journal of the Retired Citizen.* Probably an allusion to Sir Andrew Freeport, a benevolent, rich merchant who has retired from business. See *Spectator* No. 549.

the Everlasting Club. "The Everlasting Club consists of a hundred members, who divide the whole twenty-four hours among them in such a manner that the club sits day and night, from one end of the year to the other, no party presuming to rise till they are relieved by those who are in course to succeed them." (*Spectator* No. 72.)

22. *the Dunmow Flitch.* See *Spectator* Nos. 607 and 608. "The Dunmow Flitch of Bacon was a prize instituted in 1244, by Robert Fitz Walter, on the condition 'that whatever married couple will go to the priory, and kneeling on two sharp-pointed stones, will swear that they have not quarrelled nor repented of their marriage within a year and a day after its celebration, shall receive 'a flitch of bacon.'" Dunmow is a small town in Essex.

the Loves of Hilpah and Shalum. See *Spectator* Nos. 584, 585. These papers describe the loves of antediluvian men and women.

23. *the Visit to the Exchange.* See *Spectator* No. 69. The Royal Exchange is the great business centre of London.

the Visit to the Abbey. See *Spectator* No. 329. Sir Roger de Coverley visited Westminster Abbey, accompanied by the spectator.

25. *Squire Bluster*. See *Rambler* No. 142. He is a type of the unpopular aggressive landlord.

26. *Mrs. Busy*. See *Rambler* No. 138. Mrs. Busy lost husband and money and turned her house into a farm to make her living.

Quisquilius is a bankrupt collector of absurd rarities. See *Rambler* No. 82.

Venustulus (a *pretty* fellow) is a cowardly and effeminate dandy or fop, in *Rambler* No. 119.

26-7. *the Allegory of Wit and Learning*, "Wit and Learning were the children of Apollo, by different mothers: Wit was the offspring of Euphrosyne, and resembled her in cheerfulness and vivacity; Learning was born of Sophia, and retained her seriousness and caution." (*Rambler* No 22.) Finally they married and their children are the arts and sciences.

27. *the Chronicle of the Revolutions of a Garret*. See *Rambler* No. 161. This is an amusing account of the various occupants of a garret.

28. *Aningait and Ajut*. Aningait and Ajut were the names of two Greenland lovers whose adventures are related in Nos. 186 and 187 of the *Rambler*.

29. *a sad and gloomy hour*. Mrs. Johnson died on March 17,1752. Johnson never lost his love for his wife, and felt her loss very deeply.

30. *given over etc*. The doctors pronounced her illness incurable.

Page 70. 2. *the Gunnings* were two Irish sisters Maria and Elizabeth, daughters of John Gunning. Both were extremely beautiful and made brilliant marriages.

Lady Mary. Lady Mary Wortley Montague (1689-1762), wife of Edward Wortley Montague, was celebrated for her wit and her beauty. She was intimately acquainted with literary society and was herself a poetess.

4. *the voice of the pit*. The opinions of the critics in the pit. Boswell tells us that Johnson had "great confidence in her judgment and taste," and she praised the *Rembler* very highly.

5. *the Monthly Review* was a Whig journal and the rival of the Tory *Critical Review*.

9. *labyrinth*. A bewildering maze of streets, i. e. London. After the loss of his wife, Johnson felt utterly lonely.

12. *doggedly*. Untiringly, persistently. "A man may write at any time, if he will set himself doggedly to it," said Johnson to Boswell. On the very day of Mrs. Johnson's death, the *Rambler* ceased to appear.

15. *the eloquent and accomplished nobleman*, i. e. Lord Chesterfield. See Page 65, l. 20.

17. *the value of such a compliment*. Chesterfield knew that it would have been an honour to have the Dictionary dedicated to him.

19-20. *delicate and judicious kindness*. He did not offer money, but praised and advertised the Dictionary.

22-3. *The World* was a magazine edited by Edward Moore. The magazine lasted from 1753 to 1765. Lord Chesterfield contributed to its pages, and among other contributors was Horace Walpole.

24. *two successive numbers*. Those of Nov. 28 and Dec. 5, 1754.

25. *puffed*. See Note on Page 60, l. 20.

28. *Dictator*. "I give my vote for Mr. Johnson," wrote Chesterfield, "to fill that great and arduous post, and I hereby declare, that I make a total surrender of all my rights and privileges in the English language, as a free-born British subject, to the said Mr. Johnson, during the term of his dictatorship. Nay more, I will not only obey him like an old Roman, as my dictator, but, like a modern Roman I will implicitly believe in him as my Pope, and hold him to be infallible while in the chair, but no longer."

34-36. *In a letter......he repelled the tardy advances* etc. This letter which was dated Feb. 7, 1755, is a celebrated piece of literature. The following are some passages from it: "Seven years, my Lord, have now past, since I waited in your outward rooms, or was repulsed from your door; during which time I have been pushing on my work through difficulties, of which it is useless to complain, and have brought it, at last, to the verge of publication, without one act of assistance, one word of encouragement, or one smile of favour. Such treatment I did not expect, for I never had a patron before......Is not a patron, my lord, one who looks with unconcern on a man struggling for life in the water, and, when he has reached ground, encumbers him with help? The notice which you have been pleased to take of my labours, had it been early, had been kind; but it has been delayed till I am indifferent, and cannot enjoy it; till I am solitary, and cannot impart it; till I am known, and do not want it. I hope it is no very cynical asperity, not to confess obligations where no benefit has been received, or to be unwilling that the public should consider me as owing that to a patron which Providence has enabled me to do for myself."

Johnson had already spoken of the letter to Boswell. "Sir, after making great professions, he had, for many years taken no notice of me; but when my Dictionary was coming out, he fell a scribbling in 'The World' about it. Upon which I wrote him a letter expressed in civil terms, such as might show him that I did not mind what he said or wrote, and that I had done with him." (*Boswell.*)

Page 71. 1. *the author truly declared that . . .* , "The *English Dictionary* was written with little assistance of the learned and without any patronage of the great; not in the soft obscurities of retirement, or under the shelter of academic bowers, but amidst inconvenience and distraction, in sickness and in sorrow." (Preface to the *Dictionary.*)

5. *Horne Took* (1736-1812), the clergyman philologist, was notable for his political and social activities. It is in *A Letter to John Dunning Esq.*, that Horne Tooke wrote:—'I could never read his preface without shedding a tear.'

7. *lexicographer*. The compiler of a dictionary. (Greek *lexicon*, a dictionary.) Johnson is known as the Great Lexicographer.

9. *with cold esteem*. A dictionary is not usually read for pleasure.

12-13. *acuteness of thought and command of language*. "The definitions have always appeared to me such astonishing proofs of acuteness of intellect and precision of language, as indicate a genius of the highest rank." (*Boswell.*)

18. *a wretched etymologist*. "The etymologies, though they exhibit

learning and judgment, are not, I think, entitled to the first praise amongst the various parts of this immense work." (*Boswell.*) Johnson was not a good authority upon etymology, or the derivation of words.

19. *Teutonic languages.* Languages of the peoples of Teutonic race, English, German, Norwegians, etc., as opposed to those of Latin stock, French, Italian, etc.

21-22. *at the mercy of Junius and Skinner.* "For the Teutonic etymologies, I am commonly indebted to Junius and Skinner." (Preface to the *Dictionary.*) Johnson had to depend on these works for his etymologies of Teutonic words. But he by no means accepted their derivations, many of which he found to be absurd.

Francis Junius (1589-1678), author of the *Etymologicum Anglicanum,* published in 1743.

Stephen Skinner (1623-1667), authr of the *Etymologicon Linguae Anglicanæ,* published in 1671.

29. *spunging-houses.* A 'spunging-house' was a house kept by a bailiff in which he was entitled to confine debtors for twenty-four hours to give their friends an opportunity of paying their debts. The balliffs there squeezed money from their prisoners like water from a sponge. Johnson wrote twice to Richardson asking for financial relief. Malone in a note says that he was actually arrested, and set free by Richardson.

33. *Dictator,* i.e. by Chesterfield, and the name was often applied to him.

34. *He abridged his Dictionary.* He produced a shorter edition of the folio edition, in octavo.

35. *an edition of Shakespeare.* Johnson proposed in 1745 to issue a new edition of Shakespeare. In 1756 he "resumed his scheme of giving an edition of Shakespeare with notes" which was not carried out until 1765.

Page 72. 4. *the Literary Magazine* or Universal Review was a monthly magazine which Johnson edited and to which he contributed for fifteen months from May 1756 to July 1757

5. *the best thing he ever wrote.* Boswell thought so as well and says that "his most exquisite critical essay in the Literary Magazine, and indeed anywhere, is his review of Soame Jenyn's *Inquiry into the Origin of Evil.*"

6-7. *satirical pleasantry.* Light witty satire.

7. *Jenyns.* Soame Jenyns (1704-1787) was an amateur thinker and writer on raligious and philosophical subjects.

7-8. *Inquiry into the Origin of Evil.* It is a piece of "smashing" criticism which Macaulay would appreciate, himself a veteran reviewer of parts.

10. *the Idler* appeared as a series of essays from April 1758 to April 1760 in a weekly newspaper called *The Universal Chronicle* or *Weekly Gazette.* Of one hundred and three essays, twelve were contributed by Johnson's friends, including Thomas Warton, Bennet Langton, and Sir Joshua Reynolds.

12. *impudently pirated.* A book is said to be "pirated" when it is published and sold without authority of the owner of the copyright.

15. *a scond part of the Rambler.* "The Idler is evidently the work of

the same mind which produced the Rambler, but has less body and more spirit. It has more variety of real life, and greater facility of language." (*Boswell.*)

20. *contribute largely.* Johnson's mother died in her ninety-first year in January 1759. Boswell says that "he contributed liberally to her support," though he had not visited her in Lichfleld for some years.

21. *In order to defray etc.* "The late Mr. Strahan the printer told me, that Johnson wrote it, that with the profits he might defray the expense of his mother's funeral, and pay some little debts which she had left. He told Sir Joshua Reynolds, that he composed it in the evenings of one week, sent it to the press in portions as it was written, and had never since read it over. Mr. Johnson, and Mr. Dodsley, purchased it for a hundred pounds but afterwards paid him twenty-five pounds more when it came to a second edition." (*Boswell.*)

28. *Miss Lydia Languish.* An heiress in Sheridan's brilliant play, *The Rivals*, who spent a great deal of time reading novels sent out, or *circulated*, by a library to those who pay a certain subscription.

30. *a dissertation etc.* Rasselas is "less a novel than a grave satire on human life" (Saintsbury) and ladies who liked light reading would be disappointed by its weightiness.

32. *The Prince of Abyssinia, i.e.* Rasselas, the hero of the tale, who has no love adventures, nor has the princess Nekayah, his sister.

33-34. *the story set ...... down.* The story is here compared to a carriage which takes the hero and heroine on a journey. Their many journeys to distant places end indeed in the place from which they began, in the Happy Valley.

Page 73. 4. *a waiting woman.* Pekuah, the maid of Princess Nekayah. This waiting-woman, said the critics, does not speak the simple English *natural* to her, but talks "Johnsonese."

9-10. *and both ...... were merited.* It was artificial and stilted, but the language and thought were frequenty admirable.

11. *the plan of Rasselas.* "The plan of the book is simple, and recalls certain parts of Voltaire's simultaneous but incomparably more brilliant attack upon Optimism in *Candide.* There is supposed to be a happy valley in Abyssinia where the royal princes are confined in total seclusion, but with ample supplies for every conceivable want. Rasselas, who has been thus educated, becomes curious as to the outside world, and at last makes his escape with his sister, her attendant, and the ancient sage and poet, Imlac. Under Imlac's guidance they survey life and manner in various stations; they make the acquaintance of philosophers, statesmen, men of the world, and recluses; they discuss the results of their experience pretty much in the style of the *Rambler*; they agree to pronounce the sentence 'Vanity of Vanities!' and finally, in a 'conclusion where nothing is concluded,' they resolve to return to the happy valley. The book is little more than a set of essays upon life, with just story enough to hold it together." (Leslie Stephen.)

14. *the proprieties of time and place.* It is not *proper*, or correct, to speak of Hector as quoting from Aristotle, as Shakespeare did, for Hector lived *before* Aristotle. This is an impropriety of *time*.

Nor was it proper to speak of "the sea-coast of Bohemia" as Shakespeare did, for Bohemia is an inland country. This is an impropriety of *place*.

17. *Imlac.* The guide of Rasselas, who invents a flying machine. He is a philosopher, not unlike Johnson himself!

21. *Happy Valley.* A secluded valley where Rasselas is born and bred, and to which he returns.

talk familiarly of gravitation. The allusion is to the conversation of Rasselas with Imlac about the latter's flying machine. The Abyssinians at that time really knew nothing about gravitation.

22. *Sir Isaac Newton* (1642-1727), the great scientist discovered the theory of gravitation late in the seventeenth century.

25. *Bruce's Travels.* James Bruce (1730-1794), known as "Abyssinian Bruce" explored Abyssinia, setting out in 1768, reaching his destination in 1770, and remaining there for two years. He discovered the source of the Blue Nile. In 1773 he published, on his return, his *Travels* in which he described the country and people.

29. *Burke.* Edmund Burke (1729-1797), a celebrated orator, philosopher and politician. His best known work is his *Reflections on the French Revolution* (1790).

30. *Mrs. Lennox.* Mrs. Charles Lennox (1720-1804), author of *The Female Quixote* and *Shakespeare Illustrated*, a novelist whom Johnson greatly admired.

Mrs. Sheridan (1724-1766) was the mother of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and a novelist.

31. *Egypt.* Rasselas spends some time in Egypt, at Grand Cairo, as it was then called. Egypt is a Mohammedan country, of course.

Page 74. 1. *reciprocate civilities.* Pay compliments one to another.

6. *Hector quote Aristotle.*

Hector. "Paris and Troilus, you have both said well,
And on the cause and question now in hand
Have glozed, but superficially; not much
Unlike young men, whom Aristotle thought
Unfit to hear moral philosophy."

(Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida.* Act II. Sc. 2.)

Hector, the son of Priam, King of Troy, and a great hero of the Trojan wars, lived eight hundred years before Aristotle.

Aristotle (B. C. 384—B. C. 322) was the greatest philosopher of Greece, and the author of many philosophical works.

Julio Romano, etc. In Shakespeare's *Winter's Tale* one of the characters speaks of "that rare Italian master, Julio Romano" (Act V. Sc. 2). Julio Romano (1492-1546) was a celebrated painter, the pupil of Raphael. In Act II. Sc. 1. the King speaks of "sacred Delphos, Apollo's temple." In this temple in the town of Delphi the god Apollo answered questions through an *oracle*, by the mouth of his priest.

This Greek oracle had been silenced and fell into ruins a thousand years before Julio Romano was born.

15. *contumelious reflections.* Contemptuous observations.

16. *excise etc.* He thus defines Excise: 'A hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged not by the common judges of property, but wretches hired by those to whom Excise is paid.' The Commissioners of Excise being offended by this severe reflection, consulted Mr. Murray, then Attorney-General, to know whether redress could be legally obtained. His opinion was, that the passage might be considered as actionable; but that it would be more prudent in the Board not to prosecute. Johnson never made the smallest alteration in this passage.—Footnote to Boswell's *Life.*

21. *the Lord Privy Seal.* The Officer of State who keeps the Privy Seal. The Lord Privy Seal at this time was Lord Gower. "You know, Sir, Lord Gower forsook the old Jacobite interest. When I came to the word *Ranegado,* after telling that it meant 'one who deserts to the enemy, a revolter,' I added, *Sometimes we say a Gower.* Thus it went to the press; but the printer had more wit than I, and struck it out." (*Boswell.*)

23. *hireling.* One whose services are bought for money. Johnson's definition was: "An allowance made to anyone without an equivalent. In England it is generally understood to mean pay given to a state hireling for treason to his country."

31. *Oxford.* Oxford had been Jacobite ever since the Civil War of Charles the First's time, and loyal to the House of Stuart. The city, *i.e.,* London, had been favourable to Parliament and opposed to the Stuart interest.

Cavandishes. Then a Whig family now represented by the Duke of Devonshire.

32. *Bentincks.* A family descended from a Dutchman who came over to England with William of Orange, and was created Duke of Portland. Though Whigs, they complained of the Whig Government.

Somersets. Seymour, Duke of Somerset (the Proud Duke) and his family were Tories and Jacobites.

33. *Wyndhams.* Sir William Wyndham was the son-in-law of the "Proud Duke" of Somerset.

to kiss hands. To kiss the King's hand, as a sign of allegiance on taking office in the Ministry. They had abandoned the Jacobite cause.

34. *Lord Bute.* John Stuart, third Earl of Bute (1713-1792), was a favourite of Frederick, Prince of Wales, and afterwards of his son, George III. In March 1761 he became a Secretary of State, and from 1762 to 1763 was Prime Minister. His governmeut was a great failure, and exceedingly unpopular.

Page 75. 1. *three hundred a year.* The pension was offered to him by George III. Johnson took the annual allowance of £300 after making some difficulties.

6. *goad.* The goad of necessity or hunger.

10. *printer's devil.* An errand-boy in a printing office; originally the boy who took the printed sheets from the tympan of the press. "They do commonly so black and bedaub themselves that the workmen do jocosely call them devils." (Brewer.)

sheriff's officer. See Note on Page 71. l. 29.

22. *the sacrament.* The sacred elements in the Communion, or Eucharist. See Note on Page 25, l. 2.

23. *the spell.* An enchantment, as though by witchcraft, overcame him. The spell had to be *broken* from outside. See l. 33 below.

26. *Easter Eve.* The day before Easter. Easter Day is the Sunday on which the Christian Church celebrates the Resurrection of Jesus Christ.

27. *oblivion has overspread me.* Forgetfulness, like a cloud, covered him.

34. *by no gentle or friendly hand.* The hand of his enemy Churchill broke the spell of idleness.

36. *Cock Lane.* East of the parish of Shoreditch, London.

Page 76. 2. *Clerkenwell.* In the Parish of Holburn, London. The following is Johnson's account of this celebrated story.

" About ten at night the gentlemen met in the chamber in which the girl, supposed to be disturbed by a spirit, had, with proper caution, been put to bed by several ladies. They sat rather more than an hour, and hearing nothing, went down stairs, when they interrogated the father of the girl, who denied in the strongest terms any knowledge or belief of fraud.

" The supposed spirit had before publicly promised, by an affirmative knock, that it would attend one of the gentlemen into the vault under the church of St. John, Clerkenwell, where the body is deposited, and give a token of her presence there, by a knock upon her coffin ; it was therefore determined to make this trial of the existence or veracity of the supposed spirit.

" While they were inquiring and deliberating, they were summoned into the girl's chamber by some ladies who were near her bed, and who had heard knocks and scratches. When the gentlemen entered, the girl declared that she felt the spirit like a mouse upon her back, and was required to hold her hands out of bed. From that time, though the spirit was very solemnly required to manifest its existence by appearance, by impression on the hand or body of any present, by scratches, knocks, or any other agency, no evidence of any preternatural power was exhibited.

" The spirit was then very seriously advertised that the person to whom the promise was made of striking the coffin, was then about to visit the vault, and that the performance of the promise was then claimed. The company at one o'clock went into the church, and the gentleman to whom the promise was made, went with another into the vault. The spirit was solemnly required to perform its promise, but nothing more than silence ensued ; the person supposed to be accused by the spirit then went down with several others, but no effect was perceived. Upon their return they examined the girl, but could draw no confession from her. Between two and three she desired and was permitted to go home with her father."

3. *perturbed.* The disturbed ghost of a criminal, whose misdeeds made it " walk " as was the common belief.

6. *a naughty girl.* A girl Parsons, whose father made her do this to pay out a grudge.

7. *Churchill.* Charles Churchill (1731-1764) a poet, clergyman and a

debauchee. His chief poems are *Rosciad, An Epistle to Hogarth,* and *The Ghost.* He satirizes Johnson in this last poem in the first three cantos (1762) which begin thus:

> " *Pomposo,* insolent and loud,
> Vain idol of a scribbling crowd,
> Whose very name inspires an awe,
> Whose every word is Sense and Law."

11-2. *asked where the book was.*

> " He for subscribers baits his hook,
> And takes their cash ; but *where's the book* ?
> No matter where ! Wise fear, we know,
> Forbids the robbing of a foe ;
> But what, to serve our private ends,
> Forbids the cheating of our friends ?"

The book was his edition of Shakespeare.

16. *the new edition.* It had been begun, and subscribed for, in 1756. Johnson received the money, and Churchill's accusation was fairly merited, though it was cruelly bitter. It appeared in eight volumes finally.

23-24. *note on . . . . Polonius.* Polonius is the chamberlain at the court of the King of Denmark, in Shakespeare's wonderful tragedy of *Hamlet.*

Johnson describes him thus:

" Polonius is a man bred in courts, exercised in business, stored with observation, confident of his knowledge, proud of his eloquence, and declining into dotage . . . . . He is knowing in retrospect, and ignorant in foresight. While he depends upon his memory, and can draw from his repositories of knowledge, he utters weighty sentences and gives useful counsel; but as the mind in its enfeebled state cannot be kept long busy and intent, the old man is subject to sudden dereliction of his faculties, he loses the order of his ideas, and entangles himself in his own thoughts, till he recovers the leading principle, and falls again into his former train. This idea of dotage encroaching upon wisdom will solve all the phenomena of the character of Polonius."

24-25. *Wilhelm Meister's. . . Hamlet.* Wilhelm Meister is the hero of a novel by the German poet Goethe (1749-1822). This famous criticism on *Hamlet,* Macaulay said, " filled him with wonder and despair."

28-29. *one happy conjectural emendation.* A helpful correction of the text by guess-work. Macaulay's judgment is far too severe, and subsequent editors of Shakespeare have admitted merits in Johnson's textual criticism and in his preface and notes.

37. *he had neglected,* etc. The literature of the Elizabethan Drama, written about the same time as Shakespeare's plays.

Page 77. 2-3. *It is dangerous to assert a negative.* It is difficult to make a negative assertion because a single positive instance will disprove it, and it needs complete examination of *every* instance to be certain of its truth : here the examination of *every* quotation in Johnson's Dictionary.

6. *Ben,* i.e., Ben Johnson (1573-1637), after Shakespeare, the most famous of Elizabethan dramatists. *Every Man in his Humour* is his best comedy.

9. *It never seems to have occurred to him. . .* Macaulay seems to have overlooked what Johnson said in his *Proposals for Printing the Works*

of Shakespeare (1756). "He hopes," wrote he, "that by comparing the works of Shakespeare with those of writers who lived at the same time, immediately preceded, or immediately followed him, he shall be able to ascertain his ambiguities, disentangle his intricacies, and recover the meaning of words now lost in the darkness of antiquity."

13. *Æschylus.* A Greek writer of tragedies (525 B. C.—456 B. C.), author of some of the world's masterpieces (*Prometheus Bound* and *Agamemnon*).

14. *Euripides.* Author of the tragedies of *Electra, Medea, Iphigenia in Aullis,* etc.

Sophocles. The third great dramatist of Greece, author of *Œdipus* and *Antigone.*

17. *Massinger,* etc. These are the names of the great dramatists of Shakespeare's period.

Philip Massinger (1583-1639) wrote *A New Way to Pay Old Debts,* etc.

John Ford (1586-1640) wrote *The Broken Heart,* etc.

Thomas Decker (1570-1641) wrote *Old Fortunatus,* etc.

John Webster wrote *The Duchess of Malfi, The White Devil* etc.

Christopher Marlowe (1564-1593) wrote *Faustus, Edward II.,* etc.

Francis Beaumont (1584-1616) and *John Fletcher* (1579-1625) wrote in partnership chiefly *The Maid's Tragedy* and *Philaster.*

18. *His detractors etc.* His literary enemies attacked him violently and coarsely (one Dr. Kenrick in particular).

19. *Those who most loved . . .* Even Boswell could not bestow anything more than qualified praise:—"What he did as a commentator has no small share of merit, though his researches were not so ample, and his investigations so acute as they might have been; which we now certainly know from the labours of other able and ingenious critics who have followed him."

23-24. *the sting of satire.* In Churchill's poem satirizing him.

26. *a Doctor's degree.* That of D. C. L., in 1775. Johnson had been made a Master of Arts of Oxford in 1755, and in 1765 he had received the LL. D. of Dublin University.

26-27. *Royal Academy with a professorship.* "His Majesty having the preceding year instituted the Royal Academy of Arts in London, Johnson had now the honour of being appointed Professor in Ancient Literature." (*Boswell.*)

27-28. *the King . . . interview.* In the King's library at Buckingham Palace, where Johnson used to read, and with the librarian of which, Mr. Barnard, he was on friendly terms.

"His Majesty having been informed of his occasional visits, was pleased to signify a desire that he should be told when Dr. Johnson came next to the library. Accordingly, the next time that Johnson did come, as soon he was fairly engaged with a book, on which, while he sat by the fire, he seemed quite intent, Mr. Barnard stole round to the apartment where the king was, and, in obedience to his Majesty's commands, mentioned that Dr. Johnson was then in the library. His Majesty said he was at leisure, and would go to him: upon which Mr. Barnard took one of the candles that stood on the king's table, and lighted his Majesty through a suite of rooms, till they came to a private door into the library, of which his Majesty had the key. Being entered, Mr. Barnard stepped forward hastily to Dr. Johnson, who was still in a profound study, whispered him, 'Sir, here is the king.' Johnson started up, and stood still. His Majesty approached him, and at once was courteously easy . . .

"His Majesty inquired if he was then writing anything. He answered he was not, for he had pretty well told the world what he knew, and must now read to acquire more knowledge. The king, as it should seem with a view to urge him to rely on his own stores as an original writer, and to continue his labours, then said, 'I do not think you borrow much from anybody.' Johnson said, he thought he had already done his part as a writer. '*I should have thought so too*' said the king, '*if you had not written so well.*' — Johnson observed to me, upon this, that 'no man could have paid a handsomer compliment; and it was fit for a king to pay.' (*Boswell.*)

31. *political tracts.* "The False Alarm" (1770) and "The Patriot" 1774, in support of the Government against Wilkes, and "The Falkland Islands" (1771) supporting England's claim against Spain.

Page 78. 1. *without a parallel.* Unparalleled, unequalled, beyond comparison.

2. *colloquial talents.* Conversational gifts.

7. *nicely.* Here in its original sense, delicately. Every sentence had its parts carefully placed and contrasted one with another. One part, or one word, *balanced* another.

9. *triads.* Combinations of *threes*, either three words or three balanced phrases, e. g. "scenes of splendour, gay festivities and nuptial assemblies," or "He had made himself acquainted with seemly arts, his comprehension was extended by various knowledge, and his memory stored with intellectual treasures."

10. *-osity and -ation.* Long words of Latin origin. English terms ending in *-osity* and *-ation* are derived from the Latin.

"Long-tailed words in *-osity* and *-ation.*" (Hookham Frere.)

15-6. *peals of eloquence.* Macaulay compares Johnson's sentences to the rumbling of loud thunder.

19. *questions of taste.* Questions connected with literary and artistic discernment.

of casuistry. Questions dealing with a *case* of conscience, a difficulty in ethics, e. g. "Is it right to do evil that good may come?"

22. *fold his legs* etc. Johnson said of John Wesley: "His conversation is good, but he is never at leisure. He is always obliged to go at a certain hour. This is very disagreeable to a man who loves to fold his legs, and have out his talk, as I do." (Boswell.)

30. *send him back every ball he threw.* The arguments used in a conversation are compared to balls thrown at an opponent in a game.

31. *formed themselves into a club.* "Soon after his return to London (1764), which was in February, was founded that *Club* which existed long without a name, but at Mr. Garrick's funeral became distinguished by the title of *The Literary Club.* Sir Joshua Reynolds had the merit of being

the first proposer of it, to which Johnson acceded; and the original members were, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Dr. Johnson, Mr. Edmund Burke, Dr. Nugent, Mr. Beauclerk, Mr. Langton, Dr. Goldsmith, Mr. Chamier and Sir John Hawkins. They met at the Turk's Head, in Gerrard Street, Soho, one evening in every week, at seven, and generally continued their conversation till a pretty late hour. This club has been gradually increased to its present number, thirty-five. After about ten years, instead of supping weekly it was resolved to dine together once a fortnight during the meeting of Parliament. Their original tavern having been converted into a private house, they moved first to Prince's in Sackville Street, then to Le Telier's in Dover Street, and now meet at Parsloe's, St. James's Street." (*Boswell.*)

32. *Commonwealth of letters.* The republic or the world of men of letters.

33. *conclave.* This secret meeting. By the Conclave is generally meant the secret meeting of the cardinals of the Church of Rome, held to elect a Pope.

36. *service of the trunk-maker.* Trunks used to be lined with waste paper, and bakers wrap the purchases of a customer in useless paper.

Page 79. 2. *fraternity.* The brotherhood in the club.

Goldsmith. Oliver Goldsmith (1728-1774), poet, novelist, and dramatist. Author of *The Traveller* and *The Deserted Village, The Vicar of Wakefield, She Stoops to Conquer,* etc.

3. *Reynolds.* Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792) was a great portrait painter and President of the Royal Academy. He wrote upon art in his "Discourses to the Royal Academy."

Burke. See Note on Page 73, l. 29.

5. *Gibbon.* Edward Gibbon (1737-1794), the author of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* is the greatest historian England has produced.

Jones. Sir William Jones (1746-1794) was a great Orientalist, and a Justice of the High Court of Calcutta. He is said to have known thirteen languages thoroughly and twenty-eight fairly well.

8. *stage effect.* The arrangement and representation of a play on the stage of a theatre.

11. *Bennet Langton.* (1737-1801), of the ancient Langton family in Lincolnshire, came to London chiefly to be introduced to the author of the *Rambler.* His turn of mind was very congenial to Johnson, whom he succeeded, by the way, as Professor of Ancient Literature in the Academy.

14. *Topham Beauclerk* (1739-1780). As much a rake as Langton was a saint, of royal descent, the grandson of the Duke of St. Albans, illegitimate son of Charles II., whom Beaucleark resembled. "Mr. Beauclerk's being of the St. Alban's family, and having, in some particulars, a resemblance to Charles II, contributed, in Johnson's imagination, to throw a luster upon his other qualities; and in a short time, the moral, pious Johnson, and the gay, dissipated Beauclerk, were companions." (*Boswell.*)

Beauclerk took great liberties with Johnson. "Innumerable were the scenes in which Johnson was amused by these young men. Beauclerk could take more liberty with him, than any body with whom I ever saw him; but, on the other hand, Beauclerk was not spared by his respectable companion when reproof was proper. Beauclerk had such a propensity to satire, that at one time Johnson said to him. 'You never open your mouth but with the intention to give pain; and you have often given me pain, not from the power of what you said, but from seeing your intention." (*Boswell.*)

19-20. *Burke . . . . . was content.* "Johnson once said of him: 'That fellow calls forth all my powers.' When Burke was first going into Parliament, Johnson said in answer to Hawkins, who wondered that such a man should get a seat, 'We who know Mr. Burke, know that he will be one of the first men in the country.' Burke equally admitted Johnson's supremacy in conversation. 'It is enough for me,' he said to some one who regretted Johnson's monopoly of the talk on a particular occasion, 'to have rung the bell for him.'" (*Boswell.*)

28. *James Boswell* (1740-1795) was the son of Lord Auchinleck, a Scottish Judge, and a Barrister at Edinburgh. He came to London, and was introduced to Johnson in 1763 and, though a man of great vanity and of dissipated habits, gained the close friendship of Johnson. Ten years later he became, through Johnson, a member of the Literary Club, where he chronicled their conversations and especially Johnson's. In 1791 Boswell published his *Life of Johnson*, the wonderful biography in which, by means of letters and anecdotes, he describes the life, manners, and opinions of his celebrated friend.

29. *a fair estate.* The estate of Auchinleck, in Ayrshire, with annual rental of £1,600.

coxcomb. A conceited fool.

30. *pushing. . . . curious.* Boswell had a mania for intercourse with great men, and would ask them the most embarrassing questions. He begged letters from Chatham; he interviewed Voltaire and Rousseau: he asked the Corsican General Paoli "a thousand questions with regard to the most minute and private circumstances of his life."

garrulous. Talkative, chattering.

34. *beyond the Mississippi etc.* From the United States in the west .e. to Australia in the East, *i. e,* wherever the English language is spoken, Boswell's Johnson is read.

the Mississippi. A large river in America, flowing into the Gulf of Mexico.

35. *the Southern Cross.* A constellation of four stars, arranged like a cross to be seen South of the Equator.

Page 80. 1. *parasites.* One who feeds at the expense of another, or upon another; hence, a flatterer. (Gr. *para*, beside × *sitos*, wheat). The mistletoe is a well-known parasite, clinging to the oak.

6. *Bill of Rights.* In 1689, by the Bill of Rights, Parliament declared its supremacy over any hereditary claim to the throne of England. William and Mary and Anne "were sovereigns simply by virtue of the Bill of Rights, as George I. and his successors were by virtue of the Act of Settlement." Wilkes opposed an attempt on the part of George III., to

override Parliament. A Society was founded to support the Bill of Rights and was very popular. Boswell might have become a *politician*, says Macaulay, if he had been the friend of Wilkes, instead of Johnson.

7. *Whitefield.* George Whitefield (1714-1770) was a great Evangelist, who, along with the Wesleys, founded Methodism. They separated on the doctrine of predestination, which Wesley rejected and Whitefield upheld. Wesley was an Arminian and Whitefield a Calvinist. (See Note on Page 27, l. 19.)

7-8. *field-preacher.* Both the Wesleys and Whitefield made a practice of preaching in the open fields as well as in churches. Johnson would not allow much merit to Whitefield's oratory. "His popularity, Sir," said he, "is chiefly owing to the peculiarity of his manner. He would be followed by crowds were he to wear a night-cap in the pulpit, or were he to preach from a tree." (*Boswell.*)

11. *Boswell's country,* i. e. Scotland. See Note on Page 62, l. 7.

12-3. *egotism and adulation.* Selfish vanity and flattery.

15. *catechising.* Close questioning.

17. *What would you do, Sir,* etc. "I know not how so whimsical a thought came into my mind, but I asked: 'If, Sir, you were shut up in a castle, and a new-born child with you, what would you do?' *Johnson.* 'Why, Sir, I should not much like my company.' *Boswell.* 'But would you take the trouble of rearing it?' Johnson here seemed unwilling to pursue the subject, but on being pressed, he answered: 'Why yes, Sir, I would. But I must have all the conveniences. If I had no garden, I would make a shed on the roof, and take it there for fresh air. I should feed it, and wash it much, and with warm water to please it, not with cold water to give it pain.' When Boswell suggested that warm water is relaxing, Johnson continued: 'Sir you are not to imagine the water is to be very hot. I would not *coddle* the child. No, Sir, the hardy method of treating children does no good.'" (*Boswell.*)

On one occasion Johnson "grew enraged," and said, "I will not be put to the *question.* Don't you consider, Sir, that these are not the manners of a gentleman? I will not be baited with *what* and *why*: what is this? what is that? why is a cow's tail long? why is a fox's tail bushy?"

18. *a water-drinker.* "Early in life I drank wine; for many years I drank none. I then for some years drank a great deal. I then had a severe illness, and left it off, and I have never begun it again." It appears that Johnson disapproved of liquor only in the case of those who, like himself and Boswell, could not keep from excesses.

19. *wine-bibber.* An immoderate drinker. Note that the word "bibber" is rarely used separately, but only in this compound.

22. *was sometimes provoked. . . . .* "We talked of a gentleman who was running out his fortune in London; and I said, 'We must get him out of it. All his friends must quarrel with him, and that will soon drive him away.' Johnson: 'Nay, Sir, we'll send *you* to him. If your company does not drive a man out of his house, nothing will.'" (*Boswell.*)

29. *practised.* Did his duties as a barrister.

Parliament House. Once the seat of the Scottish Parliament, this old building, near St. Giles' Cathedral and High Street, is now the place where the court of Sessions (the highest Court of Scotland) meets.

34. *to fill quarto note-books.* . . . It must not be however inferred that Boswell was simply the mechanical transmitter of the good things uttered. "Any one who will try to put down the pith of a brilliant conversation within the same space, may soon satisfy himself of the absurdity of such an hypothesis, and will learn to appreciate Boswell's powers not only of memory but artistic representation. Such a fact implies not only admirable quickness of appreciation, but a rare literary faculty." (Leslie Stephen.)

quarto. A quarter sheet page, half the size of a folio sheet.

minutes. Notes, as one speaks of the *minutes* of a meeting.

Page 81. 4. *Henry Thrale.* Thrale's father, from humble origins, became extremely rich, and made the best use of his money. His brewery was sold finally for £135,000, an immense sum in those days. Thrale was M. P. for Southwark from 1768 to 1780.

6. *was married.* To Hester Lynch Salisbury "of good Welsh extraction, a lady of lively talents, improved by education, and in appearance 'short, plump, and brisk,"' as Boswell says. Thrale "understood and valued Johnson, without remission, from their first acquaintance to the day of his death. Mrs. Thrale was enchanted with Johnson's conversation for its own sake, and had also a very allowable vanity in appearing to be honoured with the attention of so celebrated a man." (Boswell.)

28. *an apartment etc.* His invitations to their house were more and more frequent, till at last he became one of the family, and an apartment was appropriated to him, both in their house at Southwark, and in their villa at Streatham." (Boswell.)

34. *the astronomer* etc. Imlac in *Rasselas.* (Chap. 46)

36. *rallied.* Bantered him.

Page 82. 2. *when he was diseased.* It was probably in 1766. At that time Mrs. Thrale, to use her own words, "undertook the care of his health, and had the honour and happiness of contributing to its restoration." His nervous trouble threatened insanity at that time.

8. *gallantry.* Admiring attention and politeness.

11. *Buck.* A slang word, then meaning a beau, a dissipated lady-killer.

Maccaroni. A slang name similar in meaning to 'buck'; an eater of maccaroni, an Italian dish, hence one who imitates Italian fashions. (See Spectator No. 47.)

16-7. *in one of the narrow courts.* In Johnson's Court. He lived here till 1776 when he removed to No. 8 Bolt Court. Here he died. Both houses were off Fleet Street.

18. *his library.* "Mr. Levet this day (July 18, 1763) showed me Dr. Johnson's library. I found a number of good books, but very dusty and in great confusion. The floor was strewed with manuscript leaves, in Johnson's own handwriting, which I beheld with a degree of veneration, supposing they perhaps might contain portions of the Rambler, or of Rasselas. I observed an apparatus for chemical experiments, of which Johnson was all

his life very fond. The place seemed to be very favourable for retirement and meditation." (Boswell.)

21. *regaled a friend, etc.* "April 11, being Easter Sunday, after having attended Divine Service at St. Paul's, I repaired to Dr. Johnson's. I had gratified my curiosity much in dining with Jean Jacques Rousseau, while he lived in the wilds of Neufchatel: I had as great a curiosity to dine with Dr. Samuel Johnson, in the dusky recess of a court in Fleet Street. I supposed we should scarcely have knives and forks, and only some strange, uncouth, illdrest dish: but I found everything in very good order. We had no other company but Mrs. Williams and a young woman whom I did not know. As a dinner here was considered as a singular phenomenon, and as I was frequently interrogated on the subject, my readers may perhaps be desirous to know our bill of fare. Foote, I remember, in allusion to Francis, the *negro*, was willing to suppose that our repast was *black broth*. But the fact was, that we had a very good soup, a boiled leg of lamb and spinach, a veal pie, and a rice pudding." (*Boswell.*)

26. *an old lady named Williams.* She had been a friend of Johnson's wife, and after coming to stay with him, in order to undergo an operation for cataract, became a permanent inmate of his house. She had a small income of £ 40 a year, partly from the charity of connexions of her father's and partly arising from a little book of miscellanies published by subscription. She was a woman of some sense and cultivation, and when she died (in 1783) Johnson said that for thirty years she had been to him as a sister. "We went home to his house to tea, Mrs. Williams made it with sufficient dexterity, notwithstanding her blindness, though her manner of satisfying herself that the cups were full enough appear to me a little awkward; for I fancied she put her finger down a certain way, till she felt the tea touch it. In my first elation at being allowed the privilege of attending Dr. Johnson at his late visits to this lady, I willingly drank cup after cup, as if it had been the Heliconian Spring. But as the charm of novelty went off, I grew more fastidious; and besides, I discovered that she was of a peevish temper." (*Boswell.*)

29. *asylum.* A place of refuge, Johnson was not discouraged from continuing his charities by the reproaches and ingratitude of Mrs. Williams.

30. *Mrs. Desmoulins.* This lady was the daughter of Johnson's godfather, Mr. Swinfen, and the widow of a poor writing-master. "On Friday, March 20 (1778), I found him at his own house, sitting with Mrs. Williams, and was informed that the room formerly allotted to me was now appropriated to a charitable purpose; Mrs. Desmoulins, and I think her daughter, and a Miss Carmichael, being all lodged in it. Such was his humanity, and such his generosity that Mrs. Desmoulins herself told me, he allowed her half-a-guinea a week. Let it be remembered that this was above a twelfth part of his pension." (*Boswell.*)

35. *Levett.* He became in early life waiter at a coffee-house in Paris. The surgeons who frequented it, finding him of an inquisitive turn and attentive to their conversation, made a purse for him, and gave him some instructions in their art. When he lived with Johnson, 'much of the day was employed in attending on his patients, who were chiefly of the lowest rank

of tradesmen.' "I have heard Johnson say he should not be satisfied, though attended by all the College of Physicians, unless he had Mr. Levett with him. Ever since I was acquainted with Dr. Johnson, and many years before, as I have been assured by those who knew him earlier, Mr. Levett had an apartment in his house or his chambers, and waited upon him every morning, through the whole course of his late and tedious breakfast. He was of a strange, grotesque appearance, stiff and formal in his manner, and seldom said a word while any company was present." (*Boswell.*)

Page 83. 2. *at constant war etc.* In a letter to Mrs. Thrale, Johnson said of these inmates of his house: "Williams hates everybody: Levett hates Desmoulins, and does not love Williams; Desmoulins hates them both; Poll (Miss Carmichael) loves none of them."

3. *negro servant.* "Francis Barber was born in Jamaica, and was brought to England in 1750 by Colonel Bathurst, father of Johnson's very intimate friend Dr. Bathurst. He served Johnson for thirty years with two short intervals. Johnson left most of his money to Barber in his will."

5. *a better table.* Better food.

6. *maundered.* Grumbled stupidly.

7. *Mitre Tavern* was in Mitre Court, off Fleet Street. It was Johnson's favourite resort, and he was a great lover of taverns.

"The more noise you make, the more trouble you give, the more good things you ask for, the welcomer you are," said he, comparing it with his own house.

10. *purse-proud.* Proud or arrogant because of their wealth.

13. *workhouse.* A public asylum for paupers, who must work, as far as they are able, to pay for their keep.

20. *an account of the Hebrides.* Martin's "Description of the Western Islands of Scotland" (1703). This book greatly interested Johnson in his boyhood, and Boswell greatly desired him to see these islands himself. It was a considerable journey in those days of difficult travelling.

31. *the Highland line.* The Grampian mountains which separate the Highlands from the Lowlands. He arrived in Scotland on the 18th August and left for London on Nov. 22, 1773. "He came by way of Berwick upon Tweed to Edinburgh, where he remained a few days, and then went by St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Inverness, and Fort Augustus, to the Hebrides to visit which was the principal object he had in view. He visited the isles of Sky, Rasay, Col, Mull, Inchkenneth, and Icolmkill. He travelled through Argyleshire by Inverary and thence by Loch Lomond and Dunbarton to Glasgow, then by London to Auchinleck in Ayrshire, the seat of my family, and then by Hamilton, back to Edinburgh, where he again spent some time. He thus saw the four Universities of Scotland, its three principal cities, and as much of the Highland and insular life as was sufficient for his philosophical contemplation. I had the pleasure of accompanying him during the whole of his journey. He was respectfully entertained by the great, learned, and the elegant, wherever he wênt, nor was he less delighted with the hospitality which he experienced in humbler life." (*Boswell.*)

34. *the Celtic region.* The Highlanders are Celts or Gaels, and speak Gaelic, a Celtic language.

Page 84. 4. *Journey to the Hebrides.* Johnson wrote a short account of his travel, called "Journey to the *Western Islands of Scotland.*" Boswell's fuller account is called the "Tour to the Hebrides."

16. *an Oxonian Tory etc.* Johnson, an Oxford Tory and High Churchman, disliked the Presbyterian system of church Government and the bare cold ceremonies of their services. While he was in Edinburgh he refused to go and hear even his friend Principal Robertson preach. "I will hear him," he said, "if he will get up into a tree and preach, but I will not give a sanction by my presence to a Presbyterian assembly."

21-22. *Lord Mansfield.* William Murray, Earl of Mansfield, Lord-chief-justice of the King's Bench, was born at Perth, 2nd March 1705. Although he was impartial and tolerant as a judge, his opinions were not those of the popular side, and accordingly he was exposed to much abuse and party hatred. Junius bitterly attacked him, and during the Gordon riots of 1780 his house, with all his books and papers, was burned. He died 20th March 1793.

28. *They published paragraphs*...... "All the miserable cavillings against his 'Journey,' in newspapers, magazines, and other fugitive publications, I can speak from certain knowledge, only furnished with sport. At last there came out a scurrilous volume, larger than Johnson's own, filled with malignant abuse under a name, real or fictitious, of some low man, in an obscure corner of Scotland, though supposed to be the work of another Scotchman, who has found means to make himself well known both in Scotland and England. The effect which it had upon Johnson was, to produce this pleasant observation to Mr. Seward to whom he lent the book 'This fellow must be a blockhead. They don't know how to go about their abuse. Who will read a five shilling book against me? No, Sir, if they had wit, they should have kept pelting me with pamphlets.'" *(Boswell.)*

35. *Macpherson,* James (1736-96), was born at Ruthven, Invernesshire. In 1760 he published, with translations, a collection of old Gaelic poems, as *Fragments of Ancient Poetry.* This was followed, in 1762 and 1763 respectively, by his 'translations' of Ossian's *Fingel* and *Temora.* A storm of controversy soon arose in regard to their genuineness. There can be little doubt that these 'Ossianic' poems were to a great extent Macpherson's own, but that he used in their composition a number of fragments of Gaelic legends. He was buried in the Poet's Corner, Westminster Abbey. (Ossian, a Celtic poet of the third century, as the son of Fingal.) Johnson exposed the forgery and speaks of Macpherson's "insolence" in no measured terms.

Page 85. 1. *reiterated the charge.* Johnson wrote the following letter in reply to the threats of Macpherson:—"Mr. James Macpherson—I received your foolish and impudent letter. Any violence offered me, I shall do my best to repel; ... ... I thought your book an imposture; I think it an imposture still. For this opinion I have given my reasons to the public, which I here dare you to refute. Your age I defy. Your abilities, since your Homer, are not so formidable; and what I hear of your morals inclines me to pay regard not to what you shall say, but to what you shall prove. You may print this if you will.—Sam. Johnson."

6. *the red son of the furnace,* i.e., a bar of iron heated till it glows

in the furnace. Macpherson was so inflamed with anger that he was like red-hot iron taken from the fire. Just as the smith beats each bar of metal Johnson would have beaten Macpherson. The phrase is from Macpherson's poems.

14. *Sophistry.* Arguing for the sake of arguing, not from conviction, like the Sophists of Ancient Greece; mere dialectical skill.

14-15. *when heated by altercation……* "When exasperated by contradiction, he was apt to treat his opponents with too much acrimony: as, 'Sir, you don't see your way through that question. Sir, you talk the language of ignorance.'" (*Boswell.*)

16. *But when he took his pen etc.* He loved controversial conversation, but not controversial *writing*.

20. *Kenricks etc.* People like Kenrick, like Campbell, etc.

24. *Kenrick.* Dr. William Kenrick (1725-1779), attacked Johnson's edition of Shakespeare in his "Review of Dr. Johnson's new Edition of Shakespeare; in which the Ignorance or Inattention of that editor is exposed, and the Poet defended from the Persecution of his Commentators" (1765).

Campbell. Archibald Campbell, a purser in the navy, ridiculed Johnson's style in a book entitled "*Lexiphanes,* a dialogue, imitated from Lucian and suited to the present times; being an attempt to restore the English Tongue to its ancient Purity, and to correct, as well as expose, the affected Style, hard Words, and absurd Phraseology of our English Lexiphanes, the Rambler."

MacNicol. In 1779, the Rev. Donald MacNicol (1735-1802), published "Remarks on Dr. Samuel Johnson's Journey to the Hebrides," "a scurrilous volume filled with malignant abuses." (*Boswell.*)

25. *Henderson.* Andrew Handerson, a bookseller, wrote in 1775, "A Letter to Dr. Samuel Johnson on his Journey to the Western Isles," and a second Letter, "in which Johnson's wicked and opprobrious invectives are shown."

27. *hexameter.* In ancient classical poetry a line of six feet. It was *detestable* because it was wretchedly written. It means, "Great man (or greatly) I wish to contend with you."

36-37. *fame was a shuttlecock etc.* In the game of battledore and shuttlecock, the shuttlecock is struck by the players with the racquet or battledore, and so kept in the air.

"It is advantageous to an author," said Johnson, "that his book should be attacked as well as praised. Fame is a shuttlecock. If it be struck only at one end of the room, it will soon fall to the ground."

Page 86. 3. *apophthegm.* A wise saying that has become proverbial. "It was said to old Bentley upon the attacks against him, 'Why, they'll write you down.' 'No, Sir,' he replied, 'depend upon it, no man was ever written down, but by himself.' He observed to me afterwards that the advantages authors derived from attacks were chiefly in subjects of taste, where you cannot confute, as so much may be said on either side." (*Boswell.*) See Page 7, l. 12 and Note.

Bentley. See Note on Page 4. l. 18.

8-9. *The disputes between England.* In 1765 the Navigation Acts were strictly enforced and a new Stamp Act laid on the American Colonies by the British Parliament. The Americans claimed that the Parliament had no right to tax them, as they had no representatives in it. The Stamp Act was bitterly opposed and repealed in 1766. The War of American Independence broke out later in 1775 and ended in 1783, when the United States were acknowledged as an independent country.

15. *two or three tracts.* See Note on Page 77, l. 31.

16. *domestic policy.* Policy in home affairs.

18-19. *Almon and Stockdale.* John Almon (1738-1805), a bookseller and publisher in Piccadilly, produced many pamphlets in the Whig interest. Stockdale, his employé, succeeded to Almon's business in 1781 and carried on his Whig pamphleteering.

Johnson's Tory pamphlets, says macaulay, were better than the Whig pamphlets sold by these men.

19. *Taxation No Tyranny.* "The doubts which, in my correspondence with him, I had ventured to state as to the justice and wisdom of the conduct of Great Britain towards the American colonies, while I at the same time requested that he would enable me to inform myself upon that momentous subject, he had altogether disregarded; and had recently published a pamphlet, entitled, 'Taxation no Tyranny: an answer to the Resolutions and Address of the American Congress." (*Boswell.*)

It was published anonymously in 1775.

22-23. *The arguments etc.* Here is one which even the Government thought best to strike out.

25. *Boswell was forced to own etc.* "I could not perceive in it that ability of argument or that felicity of expression for which he was, upon other occasions, so eminent. Positive assertion, sarcastical severity, and extravagant ridicule, which he himself reprobated as a test of truth, were united in this rhapsody." (*Boswell.*)

30. *would best consult his credit.* Would best further his reputation.

35. *suffered others to choose.* He wrote the pamphlet at the request of the Ministry, and received no payment for it.

Page 87. 5. *The question at issue.* The question in dispute, *i. e.* taxation without Parliamentary representation.

9. *Burke would have failed etc.* Burke, a serious political philosopher, was not capable of writing witty comedies like Sheridan's "Rivals" or "The School for Scandal." Reynolds (see Note on Page 79, l. 3), a portrait painter, was not capable of the same excellence in landscape painting.

12. *Wilson.* Richard Wilson (1714-1782), a well-known landscape painter, whose picture "Niobe" made his fame.

15. *some persons......called upon him.* "A little trifling edition of the Poets" had been published in Edinburgh. The London booksellers wished to rival and improve on this Scotch edition. Edward Dilly, in a letter to Boswell, gives the history of their plan.

"These reasons, as well as the idea of an invasion of what we call our Literary Property, induced the London booksellers to print an elegant and accurate edition of all the English poets of reputation from Chaucer to the present time. Accordingly a select number of the most respectable booksellers met on the occasion, and on consulting together, agreed that all the proprietors of copy-right in the various poets should be summoned together, and, when their opinions were given, to proceed immediately on the business. Accordingly a meeting was held, consisting of about forty of the most respectable booksellers of London, when it was agreed that an elegant and uniform edition of The English Poets should be immediately printed, with a concise account of the life of each author, by Dr. Samuel Johnson; and that three persons should be deputed to wait upon Dr. Johnson, to solicit him to undertake the Lives, *viz.*, T. Davies, Strahan, and Cadell. The Doctor very politely undertook it, and seemed exceedingly pleased with the proposal. As to the terms, it was left entirely to the Doctor to name his own; he mentioned two hundred guineas; it was immediately agreed to; and a further compliment, I believe, will be made him."

17. *some scruples.* Easter being a religious feast-day, and Johnson was a pious churchman.

20. *from Cowley downwards.* Including Cowley and all poets who lived after him.

Abraham Cowley (1618-1667), a Royalist and a poet famous in his day (and it was the day of Milton), as the greatest living poet. His sacred epic, the "Davideis," his "Pindarics" and his love-lyrics, have lost most of their admirers to-day.

28-9. *lying in parish vaults*, i. e., long dead and buried in the vaults of the parish churches.

31. *Button*, formerly a servant of Addison, kept a coffee-house in Russell Street close to Covent Garden. His premises were a great resort of Addison and the Whig wits.

Cibber. See Note on Page 17, l. 35. He "multilated" plays by adapting them for his stage and the tastes of the time.

32. *Orrery.* John Boyle, fifth Earl of Orrery (1707-1762), was the author of a book published in 1751 on *The Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift.* Swift told Pope that he loved no man so well, except Pope himself; yet his *Life of Swift* is full of injustice to him.

33. *Savage ... rendered services etc.* Savage supplied gossip, scandal, "private intelligence and secret incidents" to Pope for use in his great satire the "Dunciad."

35. *a mind full of matter.* "His mind was so full of that kind of information, and it was so well arranged in his memory, that he had little more to do than to put his thoughts on papers." (*Boswell.*)

35-36. *He had at first intended etc.* "My purpose was only to have allotted to every poet an advertisement, like that which we find in the French Miscellanies, cotaining a few dates and a general character; but I have been led beyond my intention, I hope by the honest desire of giving useful pleasure."

Page 88. 9-10. *The criticisms are often excellent.* Particularly when he is dealing with poets of his own time, such as Dryden and Pope, whom he understood as he never understood Milton or Chaucer, for example.

10. *grossly ... unjust.* His criticism of Milton's *Lycidas* is notoriously incompetent. It is *provoking* because it shows gross political and religious prejudice, for Johnson detested Milton's views. Such a Tory prejudice, aimed at so great a poet, was peculiarly distasteful to Macaulay, a great lover of Milton and a Whig.

16. *alloy.* An alloy is a mixture or blend of a precious and a base metal. Johnson's judgments are an alloy of good and bad criticism.

24-26. *the mannerism ... was less perceptible.* Johnson's pompous style is less noticeable in his later writings. A comparison of "Life of Savage," written in 1744, with his later Lives in 1777-1781, points the contrast.

27. *colloquial ease.* The ease of conversation.

33. *Dryden and Pope.* See Notes on Page 1, l. 12, and Page 12, l. 17.

34. *Gray.* Thomas Gray (1716-1771), author of some Odes and of the famous "Elegy in a Country Churchyard." Johnson once called him "a dull fellow ... dull in company ... dull everywhere ... a mechanical poet," and his criticism of his poetry is not altogether unjust.

36. *much just and unjust censure.* "While the world in general was filled with admiration of Johnson's 'Lives of the poets,' there were narrow circles in which prejudice and resentment were fostered, and from which attacks of different sorts issued against him. By some violent Whigs he was arraigned of injustice to Milton; by some Cambridge men of depreciating Gray; and his expressing with a dignified freedom what he really thought of George, Lord Lyttelton, gave offence to some of the friends of that nobleman. (*Boswell.*)

Page 89. 1. *Malone.* Edward Malone (1741-1812), the famous editor and commentator on Shakespeare. In a note to his edition of Boswell, Malone says: "Had he asked a thousand, or even fifteen hundred guineas, the booksellers, who knew the value of his name, would doubtless have readily given it. They have probably got five thousand guineas by this work in the course of twenty-five years."

14. *Robertson.* William Robertson (1721-1793), Principal of the University of Edinburgh, a famous historian, author of a *History of Scotland during the Reigns of Mary and James VI.* (1759), and a *History of America* (1777) His *History of Charles V.* was written in 1769.

15. *received four thousand five hundred pounds.* Boswell, writing to Temple on May 14, 1768, says: "Dr Robertson is come up laden with his *Charles V.*—three large quartos; he has been offered *three thousand guineas* for it."

20-21. *That inevitable event, etc.* "He had an awful dread of death, or rather, 'of something after death.'" (*Boswell.*) Often in the closing years of his life he was heard muttering to himself, "Ah, but to die and go we know not whither."

25. *The strange dependents....* Levett died in 1782; Mrs. Williams in 1783.

29. *Thrale was no more.* He died on April 4th 1781. Johnson was in the house, and thus mentioned the event:—"I felt almost the last flutter of his pulse, and looked for the last time upon the face that for fifteen years had never been turned upon me but with respect and benignity."

31. *the loughing-stock, etc.* An object of derision. "She is now become a subject for her enemies to exult over, and for her friends, if she has any left, to forget or pity," said Johnson.

37. *necessary to her respectability.* Necessary to keep her respectable, or virtuous. Macaulay's sneer at Mrs. Thrale is extremely unjust. Johnson himself had married a widow older than Mrs. Thrale at the time of her second marriage, but he did not speak of his own wife as being "ignominiously married," as he said of Mrs. Thrale in a letter to her.

Her marriage with Thrale had not been happy, with Signor Piozzi she was happy, and her answer to Johnson's violent reproaches was dignified and womanly. Johnson was an old man of seventy-two, with the strange egotism and arrogance of old age, and this, with his hatred of Catholics and foreigners (Piozzi was both) may excuse him. Macaulay's prejudice is the prejudice of sympathy, and more unjust and unreasonable.

Page 90. 4. *white lies.* Harmless lies, polite fibs.

6. *sensibility.* Emotional temperament.

8. *a music-master from Brescia.* Signor Piozzi. He is described by the poet Samuel Rogers, in his *Table Talk*, as "a very handsome, gentlemanly, and amiable person."

11. *degrading passion.* Macaulay speaks in the role of Johnson's counsel, not as a historian, but as a prosecuting barrister.

irritated her nerves, etc. The constant reproaches of interfering friends were no doubt the principal irritant.

17. *when he left Streatham.* Mrs. Thrale left Streatham eighteen months after her husband's death, *i.e.*, in October 1782, on the sale of the brewery. Her house was let to Lord Shelborne. Johnson, of course, had to take leave of it also. Obviously, she could not have "pressed him to return" to a house she had ceased to inhabit. But, further, when Mrs Thrale left Streatham the rupture between her and Johnson *had not taken place.* On the contrary a few weeks later he was staying with Mrs. Thrale and Miss Burney at Brighton! Five months later still he resided with Mrs. Thrale again in London! The final quarrel did not actually occur till July 1784.

21. *a chapter from the Greek Testament.* "I was called early. I packed my bundles and used the foregoing prayer with my morning devotions, somewhat, I think, enlarged. Being earlier than the family, I read St. Paul's farewell in the *Acts* (Chap. XX.) and then read fortuitously in the Gospels, which was my parting use of the library." From Macaulay's account one might conclude that Johnson read family prayers with the household. Evidently he read alone while awaiting the appearance of the members of the family. The passage he read is the account of Paul's touching farewell to the elders of Ephesus. The prayer alluded to was as follows:—"Almighty God, Father of all mercy, help me by Thy grace, that I may, with humble and sincere thankfulness, remember the comforts and

conveniences which I have enjoyed at this place; and that I may resign them with holy submission, equally trusting in Thy protection when Thou givest, and when Thou takest them away. Have mercy upon me, O Lord, have mercy upon me. To thy Fatherly protection, O Lord, I commend this family. Bless, guide, and defend them, that they may so pass through this world, as finally to enjoy in Thy presence everlasting happiness, for Jesus Christ's sake, Amen." Macaulay's whole account is inaccurate, fact being sacrificed to rhetoric.

27. *the few and evil days, etc.* They are the words of the patriarch Jacob in his interview with the Pharaoh of Egypt, recorded in the Book of Genesis. "And Pharaoh said into Jacob, How old art thou? And Jacob said unto Pharaoh, The days of the years of my pilgrimage are an hundred and thirty years: few and evil have the days of the years of my life been."

28. *were to run out.* The figure is that of a sand-glass in which the *running* of the sand measures time.

29. *a paralytic stroke.* On June 17, 1783. The attack came on at night, depriving him of the power of speech. He recovered from this stroke only to be attacked by gout; and after this dropsy, complicated with asthma, finally ruined his health.

36. *had married etc.* On July 25th, 1784.

Page 91. 1. *the Ephesian matron.* A woman famed for her virtue and and beauty, who, on the death of her husband, becomes inconsolable and shuts herself up in his tomb, resolving to starve herself to death. Ultimately however she falls in love with a soldier, to save whose life she does not hesitate to desecrate her husband's dead body. The story of the Matron of Ephesus is told by Petronius, a Latin writer, in his *Satyricon.*

2. *the two pictures in Hamlet.* In Shakespeare's great tragedy. The dead King, Hamlet's father, was murdered by his brother Claudius, who married his Queen, Gertrude, and usurped the throne. In Act III. Sce. 4, Hamlet draws the *pictures* of the two brothers, the grace and majesty of the dead King and the manners of his contemptible brother, for whom the Queen betrayed her husband.

He vehemently said, etc. Fanny Burney (Madame D'Arblay) asked him a few weeks before his death if he still heard from Mrs. Piozzi (Mrs. Thrale). He replied, "No, nor write to her. I drive her quite from my mind. If I meet with one of her letters I burn it instantly. I have burnt all I can find. I never speak of her, and I desire never to speak of her more. I drive her, as I said, wholly from my mind."

7. *Mount Cenis* is a peak in the Alps on the borders of France and Italy. She crossed the pass of Mount Cenis.

8. *Christmas.* Literally the mass or religious feast of Christ, the day on which Christ's birth is celebrated (Dec. 25th) with mirth and rejoicing. (A Merry Christmas is the accustomed greeting on this day.)

Johnson died on Dec. 13th and the news would not reach Italy till Christmas.

9. *Milan.* The capital of Lombardy, in the North of Italy. Observe how Macaulay emphasizes the joy of Mrs. Piozzi's life, at the time of Johnson's death, in order to increase the impression of her heartless desertion of him, as he considered it.

12-13. *the feeling described in that ..... gloomy paper.* "There are few things not purely evil of which we can say without some emotion of uneasiness, '*This is the last.*' ..... This secret horror of the last is inseparable from a thinking being, whose life is limited, and to whom death is dreadful. We always make a secret comparison between a part and the whole: the termination of any period of life reminds us that life itself has likewise its termination; when we have done anything for the last time, we involuntarily reflect that a part of the days allotted us is past, and that as more are past there are less remaining." (*Idler* No. 130, April 1760.)

15-6. *draw his breath more easily.* The disease of asthma makes breathing difficult and painful.

19-20. *about two thousand pounds.* According to his will Johnson left about £2,600. Boswell says that Johnson was unaware of what he was really worth, declaring that the great writer was careless about money matters. "The money he had saved proved to be more than his friends imagined, or than, I believe, he himself, in his carelessness concerning worldly matters, knew it to be." (*Boswell.*) Macaulay gives another account in lines 21-23.

23. *Some of his friends, etc.* Boswell and Reynolds applied for assistance from Government. They were in great hopes of success, and told Johnson so, who was very much touched by their solicitude. The application was refused, and Johnson would accept no loans.

26-27. *He resolved to stand one English winter more.* "My journey to the continent," he wrote, "though I once thought it necessary, was never much encouraged by my physicians; and I was very desirous that your Lordship should be told of it by Sir Joshua Reynolds, as an event very uncertain; for if I grew much better, I should not be willing, if much worse, not able to migrate." (*Boswell.*)

28. *the fatal water, etc.* Dropsy. "Dr. Heberden, Dr. Brocklesby, Dr. Warren, and Dr. Butter, physicians, generously attended him, without accepting any fees, as did Mr. Cruikshank, surgeon; and all that could be done from professional skill and ability, was tried, to prolong a life so truly valuable. He himself, indeed, having, on account of his very bad constitution, been perpetually applying himself to medical inquiries, united his own efforts with those of the gentlemen who attended him; and imagining that the dropsical collection of water which oppressed him might be drawn off by making incisions in his body, he, with his usual resolute defiance of pain, cut deep, where he thought that his surgeon had done it too tenderly." (*Boswell.*)

31. *the tender care, etc.* The care of Mrs. Thrale, who nursed him in a previous illness. (See page 82, l. 2 ff.)

34. *the ablest physicians, etc.* See Note on line 28 above.

35. *Burke parted from him, etc.* "Mr. Langton informs me, that one day he found Mr. Burke and four or five more friends sitting with Johnson. Mr. Burke said to him, 'I am afraid, Sir, such a number of us may be oppressive to you.' 'No, Sir, (said Johnson), it is not so; and I must be in a wretched state, indeed, when your company would not be a delight to me.'

Mr. Burke, in a tremulous voice, expressive of being very tenderly affected, replied, 'My dear Sir, you have always been too good to me,' Immediately afterwards he went away. This was the last circumstance in the acquaintance of these two eminent men." (*Boswell.*)

36. *Windham.* William Windham (1750-1810) followed Burke in his view of the French Revolution, and became, in 1794, Secretary for War under Pitt. Windham was a brilliant talker, an excellent speaker, and Macaulay calls him elsewhere, "the ingenious, the chivalrous, the high-souled Windham..... the finest gentleman of the age."

Page. 92. 1. *Frances Burney* (1752-1840), the famous novelist. Her first novel, published in 1778, "Evelina or a Young Lady's Entrance into the World," gave her an immediate reputation. "Cecilia" followed in 1782. "Camilla" and "The Wanderer" are less well known. Her "Letters and Diaries" gave a lively picture of her time. She was a favourite with Queen Charlotte and received a pension when she left her service. In 1793 she married General D'Arblay, a French émigré. Johnson had the highest esteem and affection for his "sweet Fanny."

2. *stood weeping etc.* She called at his house the day before he died, and stood at his bedroom door, too deeply affected with grief to enter.

3-4. *Langton. . . . received, etc.* "Nobody was more attentive to him than Mr. Langton, to whom he tenderly said, *Te teneam moriens deficiente manu* (as I am dying may I hold you with my failing hand?)." (*Boswell.*)

7-8. *His temper, etc.* Dr. Brocklesby assured Boswell that "for some time before his death, all his fears were calmed and absorbed by the prevalence of his faith, and his trust in the merits and *propitiation* of Jesus Christ." A similar account of Johnson's last moments was given to Boswell by his brother: "The Doctor, from the time that he was certain his death was near, appeared to be perfectly resigned, was seldom or never fretful or out of temper."

11. *the propitiation of Christ.* Christ, according to Christian belief, appeased the *anger* of God against mankind's sin by his sacrifice. See Note on Page 23, l. 31.

St. John says, "If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins."

13. *In Westminster Abbey.* "A few days before his death, he had asked Sir John Hawkins, as one of his executors, where he should be buried; and on being answered, 'Doubtless in Westminster Abbey,' seemed to feel a satisfaction very natural to a poet; and indeed, in my opinion, very natural to every man of any imagination, who has no family sepulchre in which he can be laid with his fathers." (*Boswell.*)

14. *Cowley.* See Note on page 87, l. 20.

Denham. Sir John Denham (1615-1669), a Cavalier poet of reputation in his day. His poem "Cooper's Hill" (1642) was praised by Dryden for "the majesty of its style."

15. *Dryden.* See Note on Page 1, l. 12.

Congreve. See Note on Page 5, l. 20.

Gay and Prior. See Note on Page 12, ll. 5-6.

Addison. See Note on Page 12, l. 9.

26-27. *The memory, etc.* Observe the epigrammatic contrast and complete balances of these two sentences.

28. *The old philosopher is still among us, etc.* In this famous vivid passage Macaulay describes the personality of the Doctor which is "so well known to us." We know him so well from Boswell's *Life* that it seems to us as if he lived among us and conversed with us.

31-2. *swallowing his tea in oceans.* "I suppose no person ever enjoyed with more relish the infusion of that fragrant leaf (tea) than Johnson. The quantities which he drank of it at all hours were so great, that his nerves must have been uncommonly strong not to have been extremely relaxed by such an intemperate use of it." (*Boswell.*)

33. *seventy years*, i. e., at the time when Macaulay wrote these lines, about 1856.

35. *anfractuosities.* Peculiarities. (L. *anfractus*, a bending or twist.) "Sir, among the anfractuosities of the human mind, I know not, if it may not be one that there is a superstitious reluctance to sit for a picture."

Even his peculiarities were those of a great and good man.

WILLIAM PITT.

Page 93. 1. *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham* (1708-1778). The elder Pitt, the Great Commoner, as he was called, was the grandson of a governor of Madras. He entered Parliament in 1735, became the leader of the "Patriot" opposition to Walpole and finally succeeded him as chief minister, though nominally under Carteret and Newcastle, at a time of great peril for England. From 1756 to 1761 he governed with unprecedented success and unprecedented popularity. His greatness as a firm and daring minister was enhanced by the contrast with his predecessors. "England," said Frederick the Great of him, "has at last brought forth a man." In 1766 he accepted a peerage and was made Earl of Chatham. He became Prime Minister again in 1766, but his health broke down and his mind gave way for some time. His ministry was only in name the *Chatham* Ministry. It fell in 1770. A fearless, upright and just patriot, his voice was raised, even in death, for his country against the policy of George III. in America. In the House of Lords, whither he was carried, broken in body but indomitable in mind again, the few words he spoke left a deeper impression even than his earlier astonishing oratory. He fell there in the House and was carried home to die.

Macaulay has written two fine essays upon Chatham.

2. *Lady Hester Grenville.* Of the famous Grenville family, the wife of a Prime Minister, mother of a second (the Younger Pitt), sister of a third (George Grenville), and aunt of a fourth (William, Lord Grenville).

7-8. *admiration and terror.* When he resigned office in 1761, England was at war with France. A French philosopher excaimed, "Pitt disgraced! It is worth two victories to us!"

8. *the first year.* This year of triumph was called by Horace Walpole the "golden year." "We are forced," he said, "to ask every morning what victory there is for fear of missing one."

9. *Every wind brought.* Every favourable wind brought a ship across the sea with a messenger from the Continent.

10. *hostile standards.* Standards, or regimental flags, taken from the enemy in battle: a sign of victory.

11. *In Westphalia etc.* "The Seven Years' War" had broken out in 1755, between France with practically the whole of Europe, and Frederick the Great of Prussia with England. The first stages of the war ended in unbroken disaster for England on the Continent, at sea, and in America. In 1756 Pitt came into office, and the fortunes of war changed entirely.

In 1759 two French armies invaded Germany. Their successes ceased when they combined to attack the British and Hanoverian army under Prince Ferdinand, in the West of Germany. In the battle of Minden (1st

August) the French army was broken by the subborn resistance of the British infantry.

12. *Louis the Fifteenth* (1710-1786). King of France, great grandson of the great Louis the Fourteenth,

13. *Boscawen etc.* Two French fleets were sailing to invade England, one from Toulon, the other at Brest. Admiral Boscawen met the Toulon fleet in the Bay of Lagos (Portugal) on Aug. 17th, defeated it, and sank all but two of its ships.

14. *Hawke etc.* The second fleet was attacked by the Admiral Hawke as it lay, prepared to embark eighteen thousand men destined for England, in the Bay of Quiberon in Brittany. There was a high wind and sea, the coast was dangerous to navigation, but Hawke ventured his fleet, and gained a complete victory.

15. *The Bay of Biscay* stretches along the west coast of France from Brittany and the north coast of Spain. It is so called from the important town of Biscay which is situated on the Spanish coast of the Bay.

15-16. *Johnson took Niagara etc.* A combined movement in America against the French was planned by Pitt. Johnson and Amherst were to march by different routes to join Wolfe at Quebec. In spite of individual successes the two armies were unable to concentrate, and Wolfe was left alone to attack Quebec.

General Sir William Johnson captured Fort Niagara from the French in July 24th 1759. The strong fort of Ticonderoga was evacuated at the approach of General Amherst, who entered it on July 26th.

General Wolfe's army climbed the almost inaccessible heights of Abraham, defeated the army of Montcalm before Quebec and took the town. Both generals fell in the battle. (Sep. 13th.)

17. *the most enviable of deaths.* The death of a hero, at the moment of victory.

"They run," cried an officer who held the dying man in his arms. "I protest they run." Wolfe rallied to ask who they were that ran, and was told, "the French." "Then," he murmured, "I die happy!" (*Green.*)

17. *Clive.* Robert Clive (1725-1774) was early sent off by his parents to India, and entered the India Company's service as a writer at Madras. Extremely unhappy there, twice he attempted suicide. In 1746 the French attempted to conquer India from the English, and in this war Clive found more congenial service against them and their allies, the Mahrattas, in 1746. A daring, skilful soldier, he saved the English supremacy in the Carnatic. Again at the time of the Seven Years' War, against Surajah Dowlah, he gained the battle of Plassey (1757), which added Bengal to the English dominions. Raised to the peerage as Baron of Plassey, he returned to govern India from 1765 to 1767. His severe reforms raised a storm of opposition from his subordinates. On his return home the administration of India was examined in Parliament by a Committee. He himself was severely examined, but a unanimous vote of the House praised his disinterestedness, and declared that "Robert Lord Clive did render great and meritorious services to his country." See Macaulay, "Essay on Ciive."

18. *a Dutch armament etc.* Seven Dutch ships from Java with 1400

soldiers on board were defeated by Clive with three ships on Nov. 25th. The French had already been driven from Chandernagore, Surajah Dowlah's power was broken at Plassey and the Dutch attempt to assert their claims was defeated. The English were left supreme in Bengal.

19. *Coote.* General Sir Eyre Coote had been one of Clive's lieutenants in the war with Surajah Dowlah and was a fine soldier who had a career of unbroken success in India. In 1760 he broke the French power again in the South, and twenty years later was Warren Hastings' right hand in the wars against the Mahrattas and against Hyder Ali, the brilliant and daring Mysore chieftain.

20. *Lally* was the French Commander-in-Chief in India and Governor of Pondicherry, of an Irish Jacobite family. Successful at first, he was defeated by Coote and surrendered Pondicherry. For this failure, he was tried and executed in 1766.

Wandewash. The battle of Wandewash was fought on January 22nd 1760. It settled the destinies of Southern India, just as Plassey had gained Bengal in 1757.

24-25. *as instruments .. superior mind.* These generals merely carried out the orders of Pitt, whose "superior mind" guided and directed their operations.

28-9. *frozen shores of Ontario.* Lake Ontario is the most easterly ot the five great Lakes of North America, out of which flows the St. Lawrence River. In the country which surrounds this Lake the struggle between the French and English was fought chiefly.

Observe the fine contrast and picturesqueness of these two phrases, which indicate North America and India, the bitter winter of Canada, and the hot summer of Bengal.

Pitt, the nation considered, was the true conqueror, who gained all these victories through his generals, who were only his instruments.

Page 94. 3-4. *placed in situations.* On the fall of the Rockingham Ministry, Pitt accepted office in 1766, and was raised to the peerage as *Viscount Pitt* and Earl of Chatham. His talents were wasted on a corrupt Parliament, wherein the King's influence, hostile to Pitt, was now supreme.

Pitt, who had been immensely popular as the Great Commoner, the representative and leader of the people, now lost much of that popularity when he accepted a peerage, and was no longer a Commoner.

9-10. *fell dead on the House of Lords.* His eloquence was powerless, failed to influence, was not a living force.

10. *a cruel malady etc.* The painful disease of gout attacked Pitt, and nervous and mental troubles followed. For two years he lived in retirement at his house of Hayes. (1767-1769.)

12. *odious to the court etc.* The King hated him bitterly, resented his influence, and longed for the time when he would be silenced by "decrepitude or death." Chatham was, moreover, not a good enough "party man" to be on good terms with the Whigs, and his schemes for Parliamentary reform were distasteful to them.

14. *Chatham was only the ruin of Pitt.* Pitt in his old age, when he was Earl of Chatham, was not the same man, the same power, that he had

been when still the great Commoner.

17. *the Parthenon.* The beautiful ruin of what was once one of the finest buildings in the world. It was the temple of Athena on the Acropolis hill at Athens, built in the time of Pericles. (*Parthenos* in Greek means a virgin; the temple was dedicated to Athena Parthenŏs, Athena, or Minerva, the virgin goddess.)

18. *the Coliseum.* The great amphitheatre at Rome. Even its ruins, as they stand to-day, show the immensity of the original building.

23. *his second son.* His eldest son, John, succeeded to the title. William, subject of this biography, was the second son, of whom he spoke and wrote as "the hope and comfort of my life."

30. *his tutor.* The Rev. Edward Wilson.

33. *I want to speak in the House of Commons.* The eldest son inherits his father's peerage and therefore is a member of the House of Lords, and is then excluded from the House of Commons.

The boy was only seven years old, at this date.

Page 95. 4. *in intellect a man.* Chatham writing to his wife, when his son was fourteen years old, speaks of him as the "Counsellor," the "Philosopher."

Hayley. William Hayley (1745-1820) wrote a great deal of uninteresting verse. Byron refers with scorn to his "Triumphs of Music" and "Triumphs of Temper," both fairly "extensive works.'' He was a friend of Cowper, and the author of a "Life of Cowper" which is still read.

5. *at Lyme.* Lyme Regis in Dorsetshire. Pitt and his elder brother were staying with their tutor in Lyme. He made their acquaintance, they rode together "to several romantic spots in the vicinity," and saw a great deal of each other.

7. *the poet was afterwards sorry etc.* When the boy became Prime Minister his patronage would have been invaluable to Hayley, who never had a second opportunity of soliciting it.

"Hayley often reflected on the singular pleasure he had derived from his young acquaintance, regretting however that his reserve had prevented his imparting to the wonderful youth the epic poem he had begun on the liberty of their country." (*Memoirs* of Hayley.)

9. *an extensive literary work.* This was an epic poem on "Magna Charta," a subject from English History, "taking for his heroes the Barons and their venerable director the Archbishop Stephen Langton."

11. *a tragedy.* "Laurentinius, King of Clarinium" was the title of this tragedy. It was written in collaboration by all the five children of Chatham, not by Pitt alone. They acted it themselves before their parents in August 1772, and again in 1774 before Lord and Lady Stanhope. William Pitt played the part of a Minister, "the faithful servant of the Crown."

13. *Chevening.* Near Sevenoaks in the county of Kent, the seat of Earl Stanhope.

14. *There is no love, etc.* Macaulay concludes that Pitt was already absorbed in political affairs, and the phrase suggests that the nature of the tragedy foreshadowed his whole career.

There was indeed little love in his life (See page 125, l. 5), and Pitt was never married.

It is not astonishing that the children of Chatham should be interested mainly in politics, and that this tragedy should show it.

21. *internal evidence.* See Note on page 3, l. 5.

23-24. *Pittite poetaster, etc.* A wretched poet, and a supporter of Pitt. The plot of the play might be taken as a sort of allegory, praising the conduct of Pitt in similar circumstances to those described in the play.

In 1788 George the Third had an attack of madness, and there was "a contest about a regency," which ended with the recovery of the King in the following year. Pitt's rival, Fox, according to Macaulay's fanciful interpretation, was the "unprincipled conspirator," and Pitt "the faithful defender" of the King's rights.

27. *he shot up.* He grew rapidly in height.

30. *Portwine was prescribed, etc.* Pitt was extremely ill when he first went up to Cambridge at the age of fourteen (in 1773). He was unable to retain any solid food, and for this reason port-wine was prescribed. (Port-wine, so called from the town and district of Oporto, in Portugal, where this wine is made.)

32. *in quantities, etc.* Later on, says Macaulay, "two bottles of port were little more to him than two dishes of tea." (Page 125, l. 1.)

34. *the regimen.* Treatment, or rules of diet and living.

Page 96. 8-9. *North, Fox, etc.* All these men were at Eton, except Sheridan and Shelburne. Sheridan was at Harrow, and Shelburne went to no great public school.

North. Lord North (1732-1792) was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1767 and Prime Minister from 1770-1782, on the fall of the Chatham Ministry. Of an easy and indolent temper, he gave way in all things, to the King, often against his better judgment, and particularly in the matter of the American War, and for this his condemnation has been severe.

Fox. Charles James Fox (1749-1806), the younger son of the first Lord Holland, was in politics at first a Tory, but joined the Whig party at the time of the troubles with America. Throughout a varied career in office and in opposition he distinguished himself as a party leader and a debater second only to Pitt himself.

Shelburne. William Petty, Earl of Shelburne and first Marquis of Landsdowne (1737-1805), after a short career in the army, entered Parliament in 1761. A supporter of Chatham and an opponent of the taxation of the Colonies, he took office under him as Secretary of State in 1766. In 1782 he was Secretary under Rockingham and on his death became Prime Minister. Opposed by the majority of the Whigs, who disliked his apparent insincerity and his popular tendencies towards reform, his ministry fell in the following year, after peace had been concluded with the United States and their independence recognized. In 1784 he was created Marquis of Lansdowne, and took no further great part in politics.

Windham. See Note on Pape 91, l. 36.

Grey. Charles, Earl Grey (1764-1845), of the well-known Grey family of Northumberland, was returned to Parliament in 1786 by his country as an opponent of Pitt. A founder of the Society of the Friends of the People, which held similar views to those of French Revolutionary clubs, he was a strenuous reformer. He was Foreign Secretary in 1806, became Prime Minister in 1830, in succession to the Duke of Wellington, and passed the great Reform Bill of 1832.

Wellesley. Richard Colley Wellesley (1760-1842), afterwards Marquis Wellesley, the son of Lord Mornington, an Irish peer, joined Pitt's government in 1786. In 1797 he was appointed Governor-General of India, and made Baron Wellesley. He was successful in wars against Tippoo Sahib of Mysore and later against the Mahrattas. His brother Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, was his most brilliant general in both wars. On his return to England he was created Marquis Wellesley. Subsequently he was ambassador to Madrid, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Grenville. William Wyndham, afterwards Lord Grenville (1759-1836), was the son of George Grenville (Prime Minister in 1763), the brother of Rockingham, and cousin of Pitt. He had a distinguished Parliamentary career. Entering in 1782, he was Paymaster-General in 1783, Speaker in 1789, Home Secretary and Foreign Secretary subsequently. He followed Pitt in 1801 when he resigned with him, but refused to join him in 1804. In 1806 he became Prime Minister at the death of Pitt, when all parties united, at the head of the "Ministry of all the Talents," with Fox, Sheridan, Grey and Erskine. Subsequently, though never in office again, he supported Canning and Grey in the Reform movement.

Sheridan. Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751-1816), the famous dramatist, author of the brilliant comedies *The Rivals* and *The School for Scandal.* He entered Parliament in 1780 and his eloquence won him distinction, particularly during the impeachment of Warren Hastings, as one of the four great orators of the day, with Fox, Pitt and Burke. He held minor posts in various Whig ministries, and was later the boon companion of the Prince of Wales during the Regency. The end of his life was troubled by bitter disappointments and heavy debts, due to his extreme improvidence.

Canning. George Canning (1770-1827), like Pitt, abandoned the bar for politics. Originally a Whig, the French Revolution brought him over to Pitt's side. He entered Parliament in 1793 and became Pitt's close friend and lieutenant, and not the least of his services to his party were his witty contributions to the Anti-Jacobin journal. After holding various offices from 1806 to 1817, he became Prime Minister during a short term of office in 1827. He was a noted wit and orator, and no mean poet. (See Page 97, l. 37 and Note.)

11. *Etonian.* A pupil or ex-pupil of Eton. (See Note on Page 53, l. 26.)

15. *under the paternal roof.* In his father's house; a pedantic paraphrase of the phrase "at home," in the preceding line.

16. *Wilson.* The Rev. Edward Wilson who subsequently became Canon of Windsor.

17. *prosecuted.* The word in this phrase has its literal sense of "followed" or "pursued."

25. *the governor.* The director or guide. Again a paraphrase of the privious phrase "college tutor."

26. *academical life.* Life in the *Academia* or University.

batchelor. An old spelling of "bachelor."

27. *Pretyman.* George Pretyman (1750-1827) subsequently took the name of Tomline. He owed much to Pitt's influence in later years. He became Bishop of Lincoln and Dean of St. Paul's in 1787. Pitt wished to make him Archbishop of Canterbury in 1805, but the King made another appointment. He was translated to the See of Winchester in 1820.

senior wrangler. At Cambridge, in the B. A. Examination for Honours in Mathematics, or the "Mathematical Tripos," as it is called, a list is issued of successful candidates in order of merit. The first on the list is called the Senior Wrangler.

37. *a Life, etc.* "The Life of the Right Hon. William Pitt."

This biography has been severely judged by others than Macaulay, too severely perhaps. It consists to a great extent of extracts from Pitt's letters and speeches. A critic writing in the "Edinburgh Review," said that it was composed not so much by the Bishop's pen as by his scissors!

Page 97. 16. *Newton's Principia.* See Note on Page 73, l. 22.

Newton first published his system of Natural philosophy in 1687 in his "Principia Philosophiac Naturalis Mathematica" (Mathematical principles of Natural philosophy).

22. *moderators.* University Examiners. In former days, when students were tested by means of debates, these officers superintended or *moderated* the debates, in their capacity as chairman. The phrase is still used to designate the President of a church assembly in Scotland.

34. *elegiac lines.* Lines written in the metre of the elegy, of which Ovid is the model. The elegiac metre consists of alternate hexameters and pentameters.

35. *Wellesley bade farewell to Eton.* In 1778 Wellesley wrote this elegy on leaving Eton, in which he compares himself to a sailor leaving the harbour to venture on stormy seas.

35-6. *Virgilian hexameters.* Hexameters written in the manner of Virgil, whose verse is a model of excellence.

37. *Canning. . . . . pilgrimage to Mecca.* In 1789 Canning won the Chancellor's prize at Oxford for Latin verse with his poem "Iter ad Meccam" ("the pilgrimage to Mecca"). It seems to have been an exceptionally fine piece of verse and was recited by Canning with great applause on commemoration Day.

Page 98. 5. *Attic writers.* Greek authors. (See Note on Page 53, l. 19.)

8. *Lycophron's Cassandra.* Lycophron was a poet and grammarian at the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus at Alexandria, in the third century B. C. His poem "Cassandra" is proverbially obscure.

Cassandra was the daughter of Priam, King of Troy. The gods had conferred on her the gift of prophecy, though no one should believe her. In Lycophron's poem she prophesies and describes the Trojan War and the fall of Troy.

17-8. *the best English writers.* Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding,* and Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations,* Robertson, Hume and

Bolingbroke were the books and authors which he studied more particularly.

19. *The debate in Pandemonium.* In Milton's *Paradise Lost.*

Pandemonium is the palace of Satan in hell, the building of which is described in Book I. of *Paradise Lost.* There Satan and his princes meet in conclave to discuss their war against God.

The magnificent eloquence and rhetoric of these passages were peculiarly attractive to Macaulay as well as to Pitt.

23. *The speech of Belial.* This speech occurs in Book II. 119-225, and begins:

> "I should be much for open war, O Peers,
> As not behind in hate, if what was urged
> Main reason to persuade immediate war
> Did not dissuade me most, and seem to cast
> Ominous conjecture on the whole success;—"

It is rather curious that Pitt, like Belial, should have been an apostle of peace.

Some of the most beautiful lines that Milton ever wrote occur in this speech.

> "To be no more—Sad cure! for who would lose
> Though full of pain, this intellectual being,
> Those thoughts that wander through eternity,
> To perish rather, swallowed up and lost
> In the wide womb of uncreated Night."

28. *Brookes's.* Brookes's is a club in St. James' Street. Originally a gaming club, it was kept by Almack, afterwards by Brookes, and became a political club for the Whigs. Fox, Burke, Sheridan, Horace Walpole were members.

29. *night after night, i.e.* in the House of Commons.

30. *country gentlemen.* The members of Parliament from the provinces.

31. *taught by his dad on a stool.* There is a tradition that a set of stone stairs, a horse-block, used to help a rider to mount his horse, was the "Stool" in question, at Chatham's house of Hayes. But it is probably merely the result of the Whig gentlemen's witticism.

33. *One argument, etc.* The predominance of Greek and Latin at our schools and universities has been attacked in recent times, and the justice of this particular argument is generally admitted now.

35. *south of our island,* i.e. in England. In Scotland education was less exclusively classical.

Page 99. 2. *Ciceronian Latin prose.* The prose of Cicero is proverbially a model of prose style. (See Note on Page 2, l. 36.) This particular sentence of Macaulay is distinctly Ciceronian in its rhythm and construction.

3. *Horatian Latin Alcaics.* Latin odes in the Alcaic strophe and metre after the manner of Horace. (See Note on Page 62, l. 29.)

The alcaic strophe, the favourite metre of Horace, is so called from Alcaeus, a Greek poet, whose odes were written in this measure of four verses.

The alcaics of Horace are considered a model of excellence in Latin verse.

19. *orations.* Set speeches delivered in public, usually in political or judicial affairs. The best known are those of Cicero in Latin and, in Greek, of Demosthenes.

26. *parliamentary fencing.* The art of public discussion, of attack and defence in conflict with a political opponent in Parliament.

at home. Chatham's house of Hayes was near Bromley in Kent.

28. *at Westminster.* In the Houses of Parliament.

31. *Guy's Hospital.* In St. Thomas's Street, near London Bridge, one of the great hospitals of London. It is named after its founder, Thomas Guy, a bookseller who made an immense fortune by his business successes and prudent speculation, particularly in the South Sea Company. In 1707 he built part of St. Thomas's Hospital, in 1724 he founded Guy's Hospital at a cost of £20,000 and left over £200,000 for its endowment.

Just as a medical student observes a great surgeon and learns his art from him, so Pitt observed the great speakers and politicians in Parliament, and studied their art, with a view to becoming himself a leader of Parliament.

33-35. *Pitt. . . . was introduced on the steps of the throne.* This incident appears to be little more than a tradition, but probably authentic enough.

The King's throne stands at the east end of the House of Lords. He sits there at the opening of Parliament and from the dais reads the "Speech from the Throne" to both Houses assembled.

36. *senior by eleven years.* Fox was born in 1749, Pitt in 1759. Both died in the same year, 1806.

Page 100. 5. *lays himself open.* Exposes himself.

14. *he attended his father to Westminster.* The memorable scene is described more fully in Macaulay's "Essay on Chatham."

15. *France had recognized etc.* An offensive and defensive alliance had been formed between France and America in February 1778.

17. *Duke of Richmond.* Charles Lennox, 3rd Duke of Richmond (1735-1806), a great-grandson of Charles II. and the uncle of Fox. At first an extreme Radical, the advocate of the Americans, the Irish, and of electoral reform. Later on he joined Pitt and opposed Fox. Finally he became one of the King's party.

On this occasion he gave notice of an address to the King, entereating him to "withdraw all his fleets and armies from the Revolted Provinces, and to make peace with them on such terms as might secure their good will."

19. *Chatham had always maintained etc.* When the colonists opposed the Stamp Acts, Chatham demanded their repeal in Parliament. "In my opinion," he said, "this kingdom has no right to lay a Tax on the colonies. America is obstinate! America is almost in open rebellion! Sir, I rejoice that America has resisted!" The Stamp Acts were repealed, and the struggle was averted for a time, in 1766.

He desired to give America a partial independence, complete freedom in internal affairs, subject to the sovereignty of England. In 1775, when the crisis recurred, he brought forward measures to this effect, which the Lords threw out, and his attempt at reconciliation failed. But further than this he would not go.

"I rejoice," he said on the occasion of this great debate, "that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and noble monarchy."

21. *he conceived very erroneously etc.* This opinion of Macaulay's may well be questioned. Macaulay, and various other Whig historians have maintained that the loss of these colonies was in reality fortunate for us. It is true that it led to an expansion of the trade between the countries, through the abrogation of the Navigation Acts. But trade is not everything. Politically, England without one of her colonies would be less, without all of them would be infinitely less.

The union of the colonies to the mother-country by ties of sentiment and common interest, the necessity of this union to maintain the greatness of England, these were the ideals of Chatham, and are the basis of Imperialism to-day.

30. *gloomy pomp.* In a magnificent funeral procession.

Painted Chamber. This is one of the halls of the old palace of Westminster. In the days of Henry III., it was decorated with rows of pictures, from which it took its name.

31. *namesake.* One who is named after another (for the *sake* of the other's *name*).

33. *in the transept, etc.* Both Chatham and his son were buried in the north transept of Westminster Abbey, and it is now called "the Statesmen's Aisle." The plan of Christian churches is in a shape of a cross. The transept is the part corresponding to the two arms of the cross.

34. *His elder brother.* John, Earl of Chatham (1756-1835) was completely overshadowed by his brilliant younger brother, and was of an indolent nature, though he had talents of no mean order. He took office in 1788 as First Lord of the Admiralty and earned for himself the witty nickname of "the *late* Lord Chatham" by his constant unpunctuality. His reputation was ruined by the failure of the Walcheren Expedition which he commanded in 1809.

Page 101. 3. *He had already begun to eat his terms.* He had already begun to study in one of the Inns of Court.

The attendance of a student of law at his Inn of Court is reckoned by the number of times he dines in the public hall of the Inn. A certain minimum of dinners each term is required in order that the term may count in the student's course.

This is called "eating his terms" in the technical phrase.

4. *he came of age.* He reached the age of twenty-one, he came to "man's estate."

was called to the bar. Was admitted a barrister.

5. *chambers in Lincoln's Inn.* In 1779 he bought rooms in Lincoln's Inn for £ 1100, advanced to him by his uncle Earl Temple.

Lincoln's Inn is one of the great Inns of Court, (Lincoln's Inn, Middle Temple, Inner Temple and Gray's Inn,) of one of which societies every barrister must be a member.

Lincoln's Inn was built on a site owned by Henry Lacey, Earl of Lincoln, about the year 1310.

6. *the western circuit.* The counties of England are divided up into six divisions or circuits for judicial purposes. Twice a year the judges appointed to each circuit make a journey through it to hold Assize Courts.

Pitt chose the western circuit doubtless because the family estate of Burton Pynsent was in the county of Somerset which forms part of the circuit.

a general election. When Parliament is dissolved, the whole House of Commons must be elected afresh. This is called a general election, as opposed to a by-election, which concerns only one constituency.

8. *the university.* The University of Cambridge. The Universities form constituences, composed of their governing bodies and of their graduates, and return members to represent them in Parliament.

the poll. The list of candidates with the number of votes *polled* for them. Pitt had the fewest votes of all the candidates.

10. *Golgotha.* The leading officials of Cambridge sit in a reserved gallery in St. Mary's Church to hear the University sermons.

The word Golgotha means the "place of skulls" and this gallery was so called because the *heads* of the Colleges sat there. (Golgotha, the place of skulls, was the hill on which Christ was curcified.)

11. *so young a man.* He was only twenty-one years of age, and it is a great distinction to represent one of the Universities in Parliament.

12. *hereditary friendship.* A friendship handed down from father to son.

Duke of Rutland. Granby, Duke of Rutland (1754-1787), the son of the Marquess of Granby, Commander-in-Chief, who was one of Chatham's faithful adherents and friends. He represented Cambridge University in Parliament and succeeded his grandfather in the Dukedom of Rutland in 1779. A friend of Pitt at Cambridge and afterwards in London, he joined his first Cabinet in 1783 and soon became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in which office he was unusally successful, remaining there until his death.

13. *Sir James Lowther.* The head of a well-known wealthy North-country family in Westmoreland, of immense influence, whose seat is Lowther Castle, near Penrith. He owned nine "pocket boroughs," and nominated Pitt to one of them, Appleby.

He was raised to the peerage in 1784 as Earl Lonsdale. Appleby is the county borough of Westmoreland.

16-17. *Army after army.* From 1774 onwards, when troops were sent to America to enforce the punishments of Boston and Massachusetts for their resistance of the home government. Chatham's reconciliation bills of 1775 were rejected, and the Americans in Congress ordered the levy of an army with George Washington at its head. The War of American Independence began.

Ten thousand more British troops were landed in 1775, reinforced by

German mercenaries in 1776, and again by British troops in 1777, the whole under Generals Home and Burgoyne. Cornwallis and Clinton led the British armies later on in the Southern States.

20. *pitched fields of battle.* Those of Bunker's Hill (1775), of Brooklyn (1776), Brandywine in 1777, and Charlestown in 1780.

21. *the event.* The outcome, the result.

22. *hunger and the Atlantic for auxiliaries.* The difficulties of food supply and of holding the command of the Atlantic Ocean hampered the British in this war. They are therefore spoken of as the allies of the United States. The surrender of the army of Cornwallis is an example of Macaulay's meaning. In 1781 Cornwallis entrenched himself in York Town. Washington marched in front of them in superior force. The French fleet held the sea, and Cornwallis was caught between them. He was unable to advance or to retreat by the sea, and famine drove him to surrender his whole army (October 1781).

23. *House of Bourbon.* One branch of the Bourbon family ruled in France, a second ruled in Spain. The "Family Compact" or alliance between France and Spain, already formed about the year 1730, had been brought into force by a treaty in 1761. Its object was mainly to ruin the maritime supremacy of England.

24. *humbled to the dust.* Completely humiliated, *i.e.* in 1759, in the battles enumerated on Page 93.

26. *France and Spain.* See Note on l. 23 above. France declared war in 1778, Spain in 1779.

27. *Holland.* Holland declared war in 1780. Britain claimed and enforced the right to search the ships of neutral powers for contraband of war. Holland resisted this claim, and finally declared war.

command of the Mediterranean. From 1779 to 1782 General Eliot was besieged in Gibraltar which was blockaded by a French and Spanish fleet, while their armies attacked the fortress by land. The British were able to break the blockade twice, but only temporarily.

28. *The British flag etc.* In 1778 Admiral Keppel retired before a French fleet, fought an unsuccessful battle off Ushant and was superseded by Hardy. The new admiral was equally unable to hold his own in the Channel against the French and Spanish fleets.

30. *The northern powers.* The right of search which had been resented by Holland was resisted also by Russia, Sweden and Denmark. Nominally a neutral attitude, it was aimed really against England, and the coalition of these nations is known as the Armed Neutrality.

31. *Hyder.* Hyder Ali, or Haidar Ali, the Mohammedan chieftain who had made himself master of Mysore and founded a kingdom there, invaded the Carnatic plains with 90,000 men in July 1780. (His name is given to the town of Haiderabad.)

32-3. *destroyed ... Baillie.* Assisted by French troops, Hyder Ali reached Conjeveram. There he met Colonel Baillie who was marching with 2800 men to effect a junction with General Sir Hector Munro. Hyder Ali joined battle with him and completely defeated him on September 10th 1780.

33-4. *Spread terror ... Fort St. George.* The horror of Hyder's invasion was thus described by Burke in a famous speech.

"Then ensued a scene of woe, the like of which no eye had seen, no heart conceived, and which no tongue can adequately tell. All the horrors of war before known or heard of were mercy to that new havoc. A storm of universal fire blasted every field, consumed every house, destroyed every temple."

Fort St. George, around which Madras has grown, was erected by the India Company in 1639. Conjeveram is hardly 50 miles from Madras, and only Munro's army stood between Madras and destruction.

34. *the discontents of Ireland.* Politically, and commercially, the grievances of the Irish were similar of those of America. Their Parliament was a mockery. They were treated as the subjects of England, without the privileges of citizenship. The Catholic five-sixths of the population were excluded from all offices.

Their trade was ruined by restrictions upon export.

Their religious grievances were no less bitter. Catholics and Presbyterians alike were laid under intolerable disabilities, and only mere freedom of worship was allowed. The members of the established Episcopal Church, one-twelfth of the population, monopolised all office.

In 1779 the English were forced to withdraw their forces from Ireland, and Ireland was called upon to protect herself from France. A corps of Volunteers was formed, numbering some 40,000, a Protestant force with Protestant officers. Seizing the opportunity when England's whole strength was engaged against France and America, the Volunteers threatened armed revolt. Gratton and Flood in Parliament were their tribunes. The English government was forced to give way. A Declaration of Right demanding legislative independence for the Irish Parliament was acceded to in 1782, and many restrictions upon Irish trade were removed. The religious and commercial grievances of Ireland, however, remained a great and increasing difficulty to Pitt when he came into power.

35-36. *the authority of the Government. . . . alike unpopular.* Lord North's ministry was a mere screen for the autocratic Government of George III. and Lord North a mere puppet in his master's hands. The humiliation of England in war and the lack of administrative capacity of the Government rendered North and the King alike unpopular and contemptible. The House of Commons was notoriously corrupt and represented the people most unworthily.

Page 102. 1. *parliamentary reform.* Already in 1766 Chatham had denounced the corruption of Parliament and advocated the abolition of the "rotten boroughs" or pocket boroughs. Later on he said, "Before the end of the century either the Parliament will reform itself from within, or be reformed with a vengeance from without." Since 1766 the elections had become increasingly corrupt, and the agitation begun by the Wilkes affair (see Note on Page 80, l. 39) came to a head in 1779-80. In nearly every country great meetings were held and drew up petitions against corrupt influences in Parliament (especially the influence of the King) and for the reform of the electoral system in general.

2. *Autumn of* 1830. The Constitutional Revolution of 1830 in France revived the agitation for Parliamentary Reform in England. The Duke of Wellington was in office. He refused to consider the question of reform and was forced to resign. Earl Grey formed a Whig ministry and a Reform Bill was drawn up. Rejected by the Lords in 1831, civil war threatened to ensue and it was passed.

Formidable associations. The first was the "Society for supporting the Bill of Rights," which arose out of the Wilkes affair. "The Society for Constitutional Information," which Pitt joined in May 1782, and the "Corresponding Society" were the chief of many associations.

3. *demagogues.* Unscrupulous political agitators.

5. *The populace, etc.* The Gordon Riots were due to measures of Catholic emancipation. From the 2nd to the 7th June 1780, the mob was uncontrollable. The Houses of Parliament were invested, the houses of Catholic sympathisers, such as Lord Mansfield, were burned, as were the Embassy chapels of Bavaria and Sardinia, and a good deal of merely wanton destruction went on. Finally Lord Amherst with 10,000 troops was sent by the king to restore order. They formed a camp in St. James's Park, near the royal palace. The name *Gordon* Riots is taken from their leader, Lord George Gordon, an eccentric nobleman.

16. *persisted in his determination etc.* George the Third's attitude was utterly uncompromising. "The die is cast," he wrote to Lord North, "the colonies must either triumph or submit......If we take the resolute part they will undoubtedly be very meek." From this attitude no consideration would move him, either of justice, or of reason, or of prudence.

36. *Charles, Marquess of Rockingham* (1730-1782), one of the wealthiest landowners in England, became leader of the Whig party on the retirement of Newcastle. He was Prime Minister in 1765-1766, on the fall of Grenville and again in 1782, for three months. Rockingham's party was that of the old Whigs, who stood by the principles of 1688 and who opposed all forms of popular democratic sympathy. Much of the credit of his administration is due to his secretary, the famous Burke, who guided him constantly.

Page 103. 2. *nervous timidity.* Rockingham's nervousness prevented him from speaking except on rare occasions. A well-known anecdote relates how, when he had been attacked with wit and scorn by Lord Sandwich in the House, and had refused to answer, Lord Gower whispered "Sandwich, how could you worry the poor dumb creature so?" (Mahon, *History.*)

4. *Fox, whose dissipated habits etc.* Fox had been a gambler from his youth, and lost nightly great sums of money at Almack's gaming club, probably by unfair play. To this vice he added others. He was long the chief associate of the dissipations of the Prince of Wales, and was well qualified for the post in every respect. His gambling ruined him. Already in 1774 his father, Lord Holland, had paid gambling debts of £ 140,000. In 1781 he was forced to sell even his furniture. In 1793 again his friends paid debts of £ 70,000 and gave him an annuity of £ 3,000. after which he ceased gambling and never played again.

9. *Burke.* See Note on Page 73, l. 29. Macaulay calls him elsewhere "the greatest man since Milton" and speaks of him as "in amplitude of comprehension and richness of imagination superior to every orator ancient or modern." When Burke entered Parliament in 1765 under the patronage of Rockingham his first speech on the Stamp Acts gave him immediate fame. But his poetic and philosophical eloquence was not such as gave power or influence in debate, and his somewhat clumsy appearance, his obscure Irish birth, and the extravagance of his conduct made it difficult for him to rise to high office.

14. *might have been his son.* Burke was born in 1729 and was thirty years older than Pitt.

16. *William, Earl of Shelburne.* See Note on page 96, l. 8.

19. *Lord Camden.* Charles Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden (1714-1794), an intimate friend and supporter of Chatham in his opposition to the autocratic measures of George III. He was raised to the peerage in 1765.

held the Great Seal, i. e., had been Lord Chancellor (1766-1770) in whose charge the Great Seal of the Realm is placed.

21. *Barre.* Colonel Barré, an Irishman of French descent and a soldier who had fought with Wolfe at Quebec. Under Lord Shelburne's protection he entered Parliament in 1761 and became a ready and powerful debater, with a remarkable command of invective He was made Treasurer of the Navy in 1782 and was granted a pension of £3,200 by Rockingham. Pitt replaced this pension in 1784 with a sinecure of £ 3,000.

22. *Dunning.* John Dunning, afterwards Lord Ashburton (1731-1783), a barrister and an uncompromising opponent of George III. He was counsel for Wilkes in the famous trial, became Solicitor-General in 1765, and a member of Parliament, and finally Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in 1782.

26. *Burke's plan of economical reform.* This plan was brought forward in 1780 and became law in 1782. Its object was to reduce and control the expenditure upon secret pensions and secret services, to sweep away sinecures, and thereby to lessen the patronage of the Crown and to secure the independence of Parliament from bribery.

Fox stood up ... but gave way. This incident really occurred, says Stanhope in his Life of Pitt, on the occasion of Pitt's second speech. Pitt was called upon to speak by the House, though he had not intended to take part in the debate.

33. *It is not a chip etc.* A proverbial expression describes a son who has some of the qualities of his father as "a chip of the old block." Burke meant that Pitt was not only partly endowed with the qualities of his father, but was in all things equal to him, a second Chatham.

34. *Pitt will be, etc.* This incident, says Stanhope, took place at the close of the session.

Fox's tribute was one that did him honour, and it was worthy of the generous traditions of the English Parliament.

Page 104. 3. *Brookes's.* See Note on Page 98, l. 28.

4. *two subsequent occasions.* On 31st May on the control of expenditure to prevent bribery and waste, and on 12th June in support of Fox's

motion for peace with America.

7. *prorogation.* Parliament is *prorogued* from one session to another. It is *adjourned* from one day to another. When it is *dissolved*, a fresh Parliament is elected.

8. *briefs.* A brief is a *short* statement of a case in law, drawn up by the solicitor for the use of the barrister in the conduct of the case in court.

10. *Buller.* Sir Francis Buller (1746-1800) was called to the bar in 1772. He gained immediate reputation in the famous trials of the Duchess of Kingston and of Horne Tooke, and in 1778, when only thirty-two years of age, was made a judge of the King's Bench, the youngest judge ever created, on the recommendation of Lord Mansfield. He was reputed a hasty and partial judge, and did not fulfil the promise of his brilliance as a barrister.

Dunning. See Note on Page 103, l. 21.

Pitt was praised both by the judges and the barristers.

13. *surrender of Cornwallis.* On the 19th October Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown to Washington; see Note on Page 101, l. 22.

14. *royal speech.* The Royal Speech, or "Speech from the Throne," is delivered at the opening of Parliament by the King, to the assembled Houses in the House of Lords. It gives a summary of the political affairs of the moment, and of the intentions of the government in the session to come. Originally the King in his speech declared his own will to his people, but he is now practically the mouthpiece of the ministry in power, and the King's Speech summarizes a liberal or conservative policy not according to the King's view, but according to the view of the Cabinet.

18. *address.* An *Address to the Throne*, in answer to the King's Speech, is moved by the Prime Minister as a rule, and opposed by the Leader of the Opposition. The King's Speech may not technically be discussed, but its principles may be attacked in the debate upon the Address.

22. *Dundas.* Henry Dundas (1740-1811) was elected M. P. for Midlothian in 1774, as an opposition member. He changed sides and joined Lord North's ministry as Lord Advocate of Scotland in 1775. In 1782 when North fell, he changed sides again and remained in office under Pitt. In 1783 he was made Treasurer of the Navy, President of the Board of Control in 1784 and Home Secretary in 1791. In 1804 he returned to office again with Pitt as First Lord of the Admiralty, having been raised to the peerage as Viscount Melville in 1802. In 1805 he was impeached by the Commons for misappropriation of funds as Treasurer of the Navy. In spite of Pitt's defence of him, he was found guilty, though the decision was reversed subsequently, and he retired from politics. His influence was immense both in India and in Scotland through the patronage his offices had given him.

30. *committee of supply.* This *committee* of the House of Commons discusses the supply of money to carry on the various departments of administration. It consists of the whole House, but it is not presided over by

the Speaker, but by the Chairman of Committees.

32. *Treasury bench.* The bench of ministers.

33. *Lord George Germaine.* As Lord George Sackville (1716-1785) he had failed in the battle of Minden, in 1759, to make a cavalry charge when ordered. He was cashiered for this. It seems to have been mere neglect of duty rather than cowardice, of which he was accused. He received a legacy and changed his name to Germaine under the terms of a will in his favour. As Secretary of State he supported the King in his advocacy of rigorous measures against the colonies, and thereby acquired great influence with him. In 1782 he became Viscount Sackville.

36. *First Lord of the Treasury*, i. e., Lord North.

Page 105. 2. *Welbore Ellis* (1713-1802), afterwards Lord Mendip, entered Parliament in 1741. He held various offices from the year 1747 until 1782 continuously, with a short break from 1766 to 1770. Of low stature, he was described in the letters of Junius as "little mannikin Ellis," and was a person of no distinction but useful enough to party leaders.

3. *placeman.* One who holds a *place* or office under the Crown, usually with contemptuous sense of venality.

4. *Henry Pelham* was First Lord of the Treasury from 1743 until 1754.

7-8. *Nestor ... Achilles.* In Homer's *Iliad*, Book I. the poet describes a quarrel between Agamemnon, the Commander-in-chief of the Greek forces which marched against Troy, and Achilles, the greatest warrior and chieftain of the army. Nestor, the aged King of Pylus, interposed with words of wisdom and calmed their strife.

Pitt compared Agamemnon to North, Achilles to Germaine and Nestor to Ellis, an allusion that such a cultivated body of men, as the House then was, would greatly appreciate.

10. *victories hardly to be distinguished from defeats.* In one division the majority of the ministry consisted of one vote only, in a second, a direct vote of no confidence (15th March), of nine votes only, and North resigned.

11. *reluctantly.* North was the King's puppet, and George III. did not relish the fall of his favourite.

14. *Lord John Cavendish* (1732-1796), a younger son of the Duke of Devonshire, was a constant adherent of Rockingham, and a member of both his ministries (1765-66 and 1782). He was a notable fox-hunter, a less notable politician and, according to Whig lights, resolute in the good cause. He was certainly an honourable politician, though he joined the Coalition Ministry later on.

16. *Thurlow etc.* Lord Thurlow (1732-1806) was a supporter of North's American policy and remained in office under Pitt and in subsequent ministries. He claimed complete independence as "King's Chancellor," and Pitt finally, irritated by his hostility and intrigues, had him dismissed in 1792.

17-8. *continued to hold the great seal*, i. e. remained Lord Chancellor.

20. *one of the ... most highly paid places.* The office was worth £5,000 a year. It had been first held by Pitt's father.

29. *Seven was a usual number.* North's cabinet in 1770, the Coalition

cabinet in 1782 and Pitt's cabinet in 1783, were all of seven. The number has been greatly increased in recent years, well beyond the *sixteen* of Macaulay's day.

30. *Paymaster.* The office of Paymaster of the Forces afforded its holder very considerable perquisites. Chatham and Burke, with a disinterestedness remarkable in those days, had refused to profit by them and gained thereby just popularity.

32. *He himself was sorry etc.* The incident is not authentic, but rests on fourth-hand evidence. Pitt's decision was deliberate, and it was characteristic of the man that he should insist on having a share in the framing of the policy that he was to carry out.

Page 106. 12. *Ultra-Whig party.* The extreme Whig party.

persecution of Wilkes. John Wilkes (1727-1797) was a notorious journalist of questionable character whose cause became that of the liberty of the Press and of the right of free election. In the 45th number of the *North Briton* of which he was editor, he criticised the King's Speech in what was considered a libellous way. A general warrant to arrest him was issued, and in spite of his privilege as M. P. for Aylesbury, he was sent to the Tower, but immediately released. Thereupon he was prosecuted for libel. He fled to France, and was expelled from the House of Commons in 1764. The riots which had already occurred when Wilkes attacked Bute broke out afresh. All London supported him. In 1768 he was returned as member for Middlesex, but was arrested as an outlaw, and the riots redoubled in violence. In 1769 Wilkes was tried at the bar of the Commons, and he was expelled. He was immediately elected again, whereupon the House declared him ineligible to serve as a member. He was returned again, and the House declared his opponent member in defiance of the constituency. In spite of petitions to the King, the satire of Junius, and the universal support of Wilkes, there was no redress until 1782, when the motions against him in the journal of the Commons were expunged, and the principles which he represented were vindicated.

20. *close boroughs* or "pocket boroughs," usually small town or village constituencies, which invariably returned the member nominated by the landowner, upon whom the electors were entirely dependent.

The constituency frequently consisted of a very small number of electors. Peacock in his *Melincourt* gives an odd description of an election in a constituency composed of one elector !

30. *the year* 1831. See Note on Page 102, l. 2. Lord John Russell's Bill passed the House of Commons with a large majority in 1831.

Page 107. 1. *the two Secretaries.* Fox and Shelburne. Fox, ever jealous of power, considered himself slighted because Shelburne alone carried out the negotiations for peace.

7. *Rockingham died* on July 1st 1782. The ministry must have broken up even if he had lived.

9. *Duke of Portland.* The Duke of Portland (1738-1809) was a member of Rockingham's first ministry in 1765 and took his place as leader of the Whig party on his death. He was Prime Minister, in 1783, and again in 1807-9.

15. *in the place etc.,* i. e. in the House of Commons.

24. *a negotiation for peace etc.* Peace was made first with America and a second treaty followed soon after with the allies, America, France, and Spain. The articles provided mainly for exchanges of territory, and neither party could claim any decisive advantage. England lost America as a dependency, but had maintained triumphantly her command of the sea.

28. *Some places etc.* Minorca in the Mediterranean and Florida on the Gulf of Mexico were ceded to Spain. St. Lucia and Tobago in the West Indies were given to France in return for Dominica and other islands.

36. *Indian empire.* Warren Hastings and Coote preserved the English supremacy against Hyder Ali and his French allies.

Page 108. 1. *Gibraltar.* See Note on Page 101, l. 27.

21. *coalition between Shelburne and Fox.* They were of the same party, and had been joint Secretaries of State under Rockingham.

26. *Pitt attempted to mediate.* Pitt had an interview with Fox on February 11th 1783.

35-6. *That fatal coalition.* Green calls it "the most unscrupulous coalition known in our history," a union of opposite parties, of Whigs and Tories, joined merely to gain office and to drive out a hated opponent.

Page 109. 12. *the great orators, etc.* Fox and the Whigs had opposed North and the Tories.

32-33. *Ben Jonson ... Angry Boy.* In his great comedy *The Alchemist* Ben Jonson (see Note on Page 77, l. 6.) introduces a character named Kastril, the Angry Boy, a foolish quarrelsome young fop.

Page 110. 11. *public weal.* Welfare of the country.

I forbid the banns. Before the ceremony of marriage can be celebrated by the Church, the intention of the couple to marry must be proclaimed in church on three separate Sundays. The *banns* of marriage are published, and opposition is challenged in the following formula, from which Pitt took his phrases. "If any of you know cause or just impediment why these two persons may not be joined together in holy matrimony, ye are to declare it." Opposition is announced in the formula, "I forbid the banns."

22. *His Majesty, bitterly complaining etc.* "Mr. Pitt, I am much hurt to find you are determined to decline at an hour when those who have any regard for the constitution as established by law ought to stand forth against the most daring and unprincipled faction that the annals of this Kingdom ever produced. G. R." (Letter from the King to Pitt, quoted in Stanhope's *Life of Pitt.*)

25. *During several weeks.* From February 24th to April 2nd.

Page 111. 14. *William Wilberforce* (1759-1833), the son of a banker and landowner of Hull, who became M. P. for his native town in 1780. In the House he became the intimate friend of Pitt. He was the great advocate of the abolition of slavery, and was associated with Macaulay's father in this crusade. A great philanthropist and evangelical, he belonged to the Clapham Sect. Macaulay frequently met him in this society and learned to love and revere him. Wilberforce lived just long enough to see the success of his life-long struggle. Slavery was abolished in 1833.

15. *Anglomania.* A mania for affecting English manners. The end o

the 18th century was the first example of this curious phase of French life. English literature, English philosophy, politics and society were the object of great admiration and sedulous imitation at this time. The French doctrinaire Liberals in particular were the disciples of English political writers.

20. *A French gentleman etc.* The Abbé de Lageard, who subsequently left France at the Revolution and as an émigré was frequently a guest of Wilberforce.

32. *retiring to Hanover.* George III. was King of Hanover, in the west of Germany, as well as of Great Britain. The House of Hanover or Brunswick had been called to the throne on the death of Queen Anne, and George I united the two crowns. This union with Hanover continued until the death of William IV. and the accession of Queen Victoria in 1837, when the crown of Hanover passed to the next male heir, Ernest, Duke of Cumberland.

Page 112. 18-20. *the city ... at war with the Court.* The fall of Chatham and the King's hatred of him, together with the extreme resentment aroused by the Wilkes affair, had made the city hostile to the Court.

20. *Squires and rectors etc.* The most zealous Tories were alienated from their old leader, North.

24. *The members, etc.* The most zealous Whigs were alienated from Fox who, once North's enemy, now called him friend.

Bill of Rights Society etc. See Note on Page 102, l. 2.

32. *Archbishop Markham.* William Markham, Archbishop of York (1719-1807) was Headmaster of Westminster School in 1753, Dean of Christ Church in 1767, Bishop of Chester in 1771, and Archbishop of York in 1777. His famous sermon upholding the Divine Right of Kings was attacked as subversive of the constitution by Chatham in the House of Lords.

33. *Jenkinson.* Charles Jenkinson, afterwards Earl of Liverpool (1727-1808), held office under North and under Pitt as Secretary of War and President of the Board of Trade.

the captain, etc. He was the leader in the Commons of the band of "King's Friends" as they were called.

The Praetorian cohort was the body-guard of a Roman Emperor, and the name is here applied to the devoted band who supported the King against party government.

35. *Jabb.* John Jebb (1736-1786) entered the Church, but his Unitarian views led him to abandon it, and to adopt the medical profession. He was a fellow of the Royal Society and a supporter of Howard in the agitation for prison reform, and of parliamentary reform and universal suffrage.

Priestly. Joseph Priestly (1733-1804), a dissenting clergyman, chemist and natural philosopher, whose discovery of oxygen won him fame. After being Shelburne's librarian he went to Birmingham and associated then with Watt, Darwin, and other scientists. His strong and avowed Revolutionary sympathies resulted in the destruction of his house by a Birmingham mob. He went to America in 1794 and died there.

Sawbridge. John Sawbridge (1732-1795), as a member of parliament, was one of Wilkes' chief supporters and a founder of the Bill of Rights Society. His politics were of a strongly Republican tendency. He was elected Lord Mayor of London in 1775, and represented the city from 1774 to 1795 in Parliament.

Cartwright. John Cartwright (1740-1824), a brother of Cartwright the inventor of the power-loom, was a strong Radical who advocated the cause of American Independence, the abolition of slavery and parliamentary reform. He was widely known as the "Father of Reform."

Wilkes. See Note on Page 106, l. 12.

36. *Horne Tooke.* John Horne Tooke (1736-1812) assumed the name of Tooke from William Tooke of Purley. A democratic clergyman, he took to political agitation in the Wilkes affair and on behalf of the Americans. He was imprisoned for a year for libelling the King's troops in America, and his Revolutionary sympathies involved him in a charge of high treason of which he was acquitted, however.

He wrote the well-known "Diversions of Purley," consisting of witty discussions of philology and politics.

Page 113. 4. *to appeal from, etc.* To appeal from the House of Commons to the electors. The constituents are the electors in a constituency. The Hanoverian Kings, the Georges, had never depended upon the popular vote for support.

19. *Earl Fitzwilliam* (1748-1833), the nephew of Rockingham, with the influence in Whig circles that his lands and wealth gave him, became Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1795.

36. *the desolation of Rohilcund.* Rohilcund is a district in the North-West Provinces of India. In 1774 the Nawab of Oude, with the help of hired English troops sent by Warren Hastings, subdued the Rohillas, whose plunderings had long been a menace in Bengal and Oude. Their country was laid waste. It was no mere wanton love of cruelty and conquest that *desolated* Rohilcund, as Burke said and Macaulay repeated in his Essay on Hastings.

the spoliation of Benares. Cheyte Singh, the Rajah of Benares, was called upon by Hastings to contribute, as a vassal-prince, to the expenses of the Mahratta War in 1778. The Rajah neglected to do so, and the £ 50,000 demanded was increased to £ 500,000. Hastings went himself to Benares and his life was in danger in a riot that followed. Cheyte Singh was finally deposed. Warren Hastings is less easy to defend on this charge.

Page 114. 1-2. *the tanks of the Carnatic.* These were irrigation tanks which the Madras Government, impoverished by the invasions of Hyder Ali, had been unable to keep in constant repair.

7-8. *the greatest corporation in the world,* i.e. the East India Company, whose directors governed India, and whose power was to be transferred to the commission of seven.

The original charter of the company was granted by Queen Elizabeth in 1600 to a company of London merchants.

9. *unconstitutional.* It put the power effectively into the hands of Fox, not of the Crown or of Parliament.

10. *Fox's nominees.* The Bill named seven Commissioners, who were to hold office for four years. All were supporters of the Coalition.

13. *patronage.* It was worth more than £ 300,000 a year, and even if Fox went out of office, it would still be under his influence, through his nominees.

18. *Cromwell.* Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658), the great general of the Parliamentry forces in the Civil War, became Protector of England during the Commonwealth in 1653, and refused the title of King in 1657. His dealings with Parliament were no less arbitrary than those of Charles I., and with the help of the army he made himself an absolute ruler, independent of Parliament.

Karlo Khan, i.e., Prince, or Lord Charles. Fox was compared to a tyrannic Eastern potentate. A famous caricature by Sayer represented Carlo Fox Khan crowned and entering Leadenhall Street on a State elephant, in solemn procession.

22. *the corruption etc.* The corruption of North's Tories and the violence of Fox's Whigs.

30. *Earl Temple* (1753-1813), the eldest son of George Grenville, succeeded his uncle as Earl Temple in 1779 and was created Marquis of Buckingham in 1784. He was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1782-3 and 1787-89.

King George gave Temple a paper on this occasion to the following effect: "His Majesty allows Earl Temple to say that whoever voted for the India Bill is not only not his friend, but will be considered by him as an enemy."

Royal closet. The king's private room.

35. *Scotch peers etc.* A Scotch peer is not qualified by his Scotch title to sit in the House of Lords. A number of Scotch peers are elected to represent the body of the peerage in the House.

37. *the Lords rejected the Bill.* On December 17th. Next day the Secretaries were dismissed from office.

Page 115. 4. *The general opinion was etc.* It was called the "mince-pie administration," as not likely to last over Christmas, the season of plum-puddings and mince-pies.

8-9. *Temple ... resigned office.* The explanation of Temple's resignation just given by Macaulay is incorrect. Earl Stanhope in his Life of Pitt has shown that the reason was Temple's resentment at not having received a Dukedom for his services in Ireland. Pitt, he thought, had not been zealous enough in his cause. Stanhope wrote to Macaulay on the subject and Macaulay wrote (in 1858) acknowledging his error. "After looking at Tomline's narrative and the Buckingham Papers, I am satisfied that I was wrong. Whenever Black reprints the article separately, as he proposes to do, the error shall be corrected."

It was fortunate for Pitt that Temple resigned, as Macaulay proceeds to shew.

Page 116. 6-7. *he was determined to go to Germany etc.* To his kingdom of Hanover, abandoning the crown of England. He wrote to Pitt on February 4th, 1784:—"Should not the Lords stand boldly forth, this Constitution must soon be changed; for, if the only two remaining privileges of the Crown are infringed — that of negativing bills which have passed both Houses of Parliament, and that of naming the Ministers to be employed — I cannot but feel that I can be no longer of any utility to this country, nor can, with honour, continue in this island."

10-11. *The freedom of the city of London etc.* Pitt first became a Freeman of the Company of Grocers, as his father had been, on February 14th. The Council of London had voted thanks to him for his conduct "in the present alarming and critical state of affairs" and resolved that the freedom of the city be presented to him "in a Gold Box of the value of one hundred guineas." On February 28th Pitt dined in the Grocer's Hall in state, and was sworn a Freeman of the Company and of the City.

25-6. *Clerkship of the Pells.* The Clerk of the Pells was formerly an officer of the exchequer, who entered certain accounts in *pellrolls.* (Lat. *pellis*, a skin, hence a parchment or writing material.)

28. *became vacant.* By the death of a son of Sir Robert Walpole, Sir Edward Walpole, who held this sinecure.

35-36. *gave the Pells to . . . Barre.* See Note on Page 103, l. 21. above.

Page 117. 7. *pecuniary disinterestedness.* Unselfishness in matters of money.

16. *garters.* The *garter* is the emblem of the famous Order of the Garter, the most distinguished order of the realm.

22-3. *But the supplies etc.* The grant of the supplies and the passing of the Mutiny Bill are annual and cannot be dispensed with. It is impossible to carry on Government without supplies, or for the army to exist without discipline and pay.

The first Mutiny Bill was passed in 1689 at the Revolution. By means of granting supplies and powers of discipline only for one year Parliament maintained its command over the army.

27. *A hundred and sixty etc* They were known as "Fox's Martyrs" in popular wit.

28. *First Lord of the Treasury.* Pitt.

32. *Fitzwilliams.* Of the famous family of Strafford, of Wentworth Hall. See Note on Page 113, l. 19.

Cavendishes. Of Bolton Hall, of the Devonshire family.

Dundases. A branch of the famous Scotch Dundases, whose chief was Lord Melville. Their head is now the Marquis of Zetland.

Saviles. One of the oldest and most influential families of the North. The Marquis of Halifax was a Savile.

These families were all connected by territorial and political interests, as well as by marriages, and all had great influence in Yorkshire.

Page 118. 2. *Marlborough.* John Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722), the son of Sir Winston Churchill of Devonshire, became the Commander-in-Chief of the British army, gained the great victories of Blenheim, Ramilies, Oudenarde and Malplaquet against the French, and became all-powerful at the court of Queen Anne. Finally accused of peculation, he was found guilty by the House of Commons, and dismissed from his command in 1712.

16. *Ximenes.* Cardinal Francisco Ximenes (1436-1517), the great

Spanish minister of Ferdinand and Isabella. A Franciscan monk at first, he became Archbishop of Toledo, Primate of Spain, and High Chancellor. He was Regent for a while in 1506-7 and again in 1516-17, created a Cardinal and Inquisitor-General in 1507.

The consolidation of Aragon and Castile into the one kingdom of Spain is the work of Ximenes in the main.

Sully. Bethune, Duc de Sully (1560-1641), a famous French Protestant statesman, the constant friend of Henry of Navarre, who became Henry IV. of France and made Sully his Minister of Finance. He was created Duc de Sully in 1606, and on the assassination of the King, retired from Court. He was a great statesman and a cynical wit. One of his sayings is often quoted. He described James I. as "the wisest fool in Christendom."

Richelieu. Armand du Plessis, Duke and Cardinal de Richelieu (1585-1642), for many years (from 1624 to 1642) was the leading statesman in Europe and the virtual dictator of France. He increased the influence of France by his defeat of Spain, of the Crown by crushing the nobles, and of the Church by destroying the Huguenot power.

He was a notable patron of letters and founded the French Academy in 1635.

Oxenstiern. Count Axel Oxenstiern (1583-1654) was the famous Minister of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, during the Thirty Years' War. He became Regent during the minority of Queen Christina, and was the intellectual head of the Protestant Coalition.

17. *John de Witt* (1625-1672) was Grand Pensionary of Holland in 1653, and conducted the affairs of the country with extraordinary success. He carried on a successful naval war against Charles II. in 1665-1667. The leader of the Republican party, he procured the passing of the Perpetual Edict which abolished the office of Stadtholder, hereditary in the Orange family. He was murdered, with his brother Cornelius, in a popular rising instigated by the House of Orange.

Warren Hastings. Warren Hastings (1732-1818) became President of the Supreme Council of Bengal and then, by Act of Parliament, Governor-General. He was the organizer and administrator of the Empire which Clive had founded. He was universally successful in administration and in his foreign policy. Accused at home of corruption and aggression he returned to defend himself. He was impeached and after a long trial lasting ten years was acquitted on every charge. Macaulay's account in his *Essay on Warren Hastings* is extremely prejudiced and unfair to a great man who was hampered on every side, especially by his own councillors in India.

The means etc. The government of all these men was of a personal nature, independent of any form of Parliamentary control. Pitt was essentially a Parliamentary leader, and his talents were mainly suited to this capacity.

35. *Montague.* Charles Montague, Earl of Halifax (1661-1715), the great Whig leader of the reign of William III. His financial measures

were of the greatest value. When the Tory party came into power in 1701 he was impeached with other members of the Whig Junto, but acquitted. He became Prime Minister again under George I. in 1714-15.

37. *Peel.* Sir Robert Peel (1788-1850), one of the greatest statesmen in English history, Premier in 1841. His administration established the constabulary force, repealed the Corn Laws, and supported the cause of Catholic Emancipation.

Page 119. 13. *government by speaking.* This passage of Macaulay describes a very real defect in the system of Parliamentary government, whereby a man of shallow mind, but of powerful rhetorical gifts, may rise to great influence. For this reason Carlyle calls the Parliament caustically the " National Palaver."

25. *Charles Townshend* (1725-1767), a frequent holder of office, as Chancellor of the Exchequer was responsible for the imposition of taxes on the Colonies and consequently for the American War. Macaulay describes him elsewhere as " the most brilliant and versatile of mankind."

29. *Oliver Cromwell who talked nonsense.* Carlyle's *Letters and Speeches of Cromwell* show the obscure mysticism and fanatic fervour which make " nonsense " to a man who, like Macaulay, is out of sympathy with enthusiasms.

30. *William the Silent.* William of Orange (1533-1584), the hero of the Dutch War of Independence and of the revolt against Spanish domination, was the founder of the Batavian or Dutch commonwealth. His taciturn unconcern in front of danger is proverbial in the popular name of William the Silent.

Page 120. 1. *Book of Dignities.* Joseph Haydn's *Book of Dignities* (1851) which contains lists of all the official personages of the British Empire from early days down to the present, is here referred to by Macaulay.

7. *funded and unfunded debt.* A *funded* debt is one whereof the interest is guaranteed by a permanent fund, secured by duties. An *unfunded* debt is a temporary debt not provided for in this way, and is usually in the form of Exchequer Bills.

8. *Mahrattas.* The Mahrattas inhabit Western and Central India and are a people with a notable record in history. They are Hindus, of course.

18. *Prince of the Peace.* Manuel de Godoy, Duke of Alcudia, who negotiated the Peace of Basle between France and Spain in 1795, was known by this name. He was a mere court-favourite.

19. *Steenie.* This was a nickname given by James I. to his favourite George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, on account of a fancied resemblance to the face of Stephen the Myrtyr whose face looked " as it had been the face of an angel." (Book of Acts, Chap. VI.)

26. *Thucydides* (B. C., 471-401), the great Greek historian of the Peloponnesian War. He is a model of style and, though an Athenian, of impartiality in his account of this great struggle between Athens and Sparta.

27. *Attic speeches etc.* The speech of Demosthenes, the great Athenian orator, on the Embassy was an attack on Aeschines for misconduct in his embassy to Philip of Macedon (B. C. 343).

That on the Crown is universally admitted to be the greatest speech of ancient times. In it Demosthenes defended his supporter against Aeschines, and vindicated the whole of his own public life, spent in opposition to the aggressive policy of Philip (330 B. C.).

Page 121. 35. *Tacitus.* Caius Cornelius Tacitus (51-120) is the greatest of Latin historians, author of a *Life of Agricola*, the *Annals* (14-68), the *Histories* (68-96), a treatise on *Germany* and a dialogue upon *Orators.*

the fate of a senator. In the *Annals*, Book IV. Chap. 61, Tacitus writes of Haterius: " His power as an orator depended on force and energy rather than on careful preparation ; while the study and polish of others preserves them to posterity (here Macaulay's quotation begins) the melodius and fluent style of Haterius perished with him."

Page 122. 16. *dialectical fence.* Rhetorical and logical argument.

. *Page* 123. 7. *a King's speech.* See Note above on " royal speech." The King's speech must of necessity be of a diplomatic nature.

12. *race* Peculiar flavour, as of wine, or speech. A dialect, we say, is *racy* of the soil, i. e., has a local flavour.

So the oratory of Fox and Pitt was *racy* or characteristic of their nature, had the flavour of their qualities.

23. *Pride etc.* Macaulay takes much of his information from the Memoirs of Wraxall. To this was due his mistake about the resignation of Temple. Here also he follows Wraxall. " In the formation of his person he was tall and slender, but without elegance or grace. In his manners, if not repulsive, he was cold, stiff, without suavity or amenity. He seemed never to invite approach or to encourage acquaintance, though, when addressed, he could be polite, communicative, and occasionally gracious. Smiles were not natural to him even when seated on the Treasury Bench. . . . . From the instant that Pitt entered the doorway of the House of Commons, he advanced up the floor with a quick and firm step, his head erect and thrown back, looking neither to the right nor to the left, nor favouring with a nod or a glance any of the individuals seated on either side, among whom many who possessed £5000 a year would have been gratified by even so slight a mark of attention. It was thus that Lord North or Fox treated Parliament." (*Memoirs*, ii. 469.)

33. *Cumberland.* Richard Cumberland (1732-1811), a grandson of the great Bentley, was a well-known writer of sentimental drama, of which the best is *The West Indian.* His *Observer* was an imitation of Addison's *Spectator* and his *Memoirs* are still read for their information. He held office for a time under Halifax in Ireland.

He was a curiously vain and sensitive man. Garrick called him "the man without a skin" for this reason, and Sheridan caricatured him in *The Critic* as Sir Fretful Plagiary.

34. *Boswell.* Boswell, an equally vain man, had hoped for reward from

Pitt for writing an attack on Fox's India Bill.

Matthias. Thomas James Matthias (1757-1835), librarian at Buckingham Palace in 1812. His once well-known satire *The Pursuits of Literature* is a poem in couplets which attacks Pitt among others, without much wit or point.

7. *Magnanimous.* Literally the great-souled man, a rendering of the name of Aristotle's type in the Ethics.

10-1. *a consciousness of great power, etc.* Speaking of his Whig allies in 1794 he said that he relied much on them, but much more on himself.

15. *cupidity.* Desire of gain.

21. *Plain Mister himself.* He himself had no title, he was a commoner. He was not Lord Pitt, but only Mr. Pitt.

22. *more lords.* In his first five years in office he created 48 peers and in 1801 he had created no less than 140. He practically doubled the number of peers during his administration. His creations had a strong party flavour of Toryism, and were bestowed somewhat indiscriminately among his partisans.

23. *The garter.* See Note above. It was offered to him with flattering insistence in 1790.

33-34. *he indulged . . . in wine, etc.* He had been ordered port when a youth, and became addicted to its use. (See Note on Page 95, l. 27.) On one famous occasion Dundas and Pitt were so drunk in the House itself that its business could not be continued and it broke up. A couplet in the *Morning Chronicle* perpetuated the incident :

"I cannot see the Speaker, Hal ; can you ?"
"Not see the Speaker ? Hang it, I see two !"

Page 125. 2-3. *Club of St. James's Street.* The chief of these were Brookes's, White's, and Boodle's. In 1780-81 he frequented Goostree's Club, a club of young M. P.'s, where he was reported to have "held the bank" at play.

5. *the passion etc.* The passion of love. He had only one love affair of any importance, with the daughter of Lord Auckland, Eleanor Eden. Political reasons, financial reasons, and the state of his health combined to make marriage impossible, in 1796.

In 1783, while he was in France, there was talk of a marriage with Mlle. Necker, though his famous answer, "I am married to my country," is not authenticated.

11. *Peter Pindar.* This was the pen-name of John Walcot (1738-1819), a wit and satirist who was a constant thorn in the flesh to men in high position. The ministry actually bribed him with an annuity of £300.

His best-known satires are *Lyrical Odes to the Royal Academicians* (1782), *Bozzy and Piozzi* (1786) on Boswell, and *Apple Dumplings and a King.*

This last relates the difficulty of George III. in accounting for the entry of an apple into a dumpling, and thus concludes :—

"Strange I should never of a Dumpling dream !
But, Goody, tell me where, where, where's the Seam ?

"Sir, there's no Seam," quoth she, "I never knew
  That folks did apple-dumplings sew"—
"No!" cried the staring monarch with a grin;
"How, how the devil got the apple in?"

Captain Morris. Charles Morris (1745-1838) a Captain in the Horse Guards, a song-writer of the convivial sort, who became the intimate of Fox and of the Prince of Wales. His best-known songs upon Pitt are *Billy's too young to drive* and *Billy Pitt and the Farmer.*

19. *Nancy Parsons,* afterwards Lady Maynard, was the mistress of the Duke of Grafton, whom "Junius" attacked for appearing with her in public at the Opera. She married Viscount Maynard in 1776.

Marianne Clark (1776-1852) was the mistress of the Duke of York, who created a great scandal in 1809 for traffic in army commissions.

25. *of a great university.* He represented Cambridge University in Parliament.

28-29. *Augustus....... Pompeius.* The great struggle between the followers of Pompeius (Pompey) and the two other Triumvirs of Rome, Antony and Octavianus (afterwards the Emperor Augustus) ended at the battle of Philippi B. C. 42. The poet Horace had fought at this battle under Brutus and Cassius, the Pompeian leaders, and Livy, the great historian, was of their party. Yet Augustus was their friend and patron afterwards.

29-30. *Gowers. . . nonjurors.* John Gowers (1650-1716) was a famous Whig statesman, Lord Chancellor under William III. As a barrister he had defended the Seven Bishops against James II. and prepared the Declaration of Rights. He was impeached as a leader of the Whig Junto in 1700, but acquitted.

A certain number of Tory Bishops and clergy after the Revolution refused to take the oath of allegiance to William III. and were deprived of their benefices. They were called *nonjurors.* They were the extreme opponents of Gowers and the Whigs, but Gowers extended his patronage even to such violent political enemies as Hickes the antiquarian.

30. *Harley.* Robert Harley (1661-1724), afterwards Earl of Oxford, was the great Tory Minister of Queen Anne. Impeached by the Whigs in 1714, on the accession of George I. he was imprisoned in the tower for two years, after which he was acquitted on a public trial. He was a great patron of letters, and a lover of books. (See Note on Harleian Library on Page 60, l. 20.) He was the friend of Pope and Swift and when Defoe, a strongly Whig writer, was imprisoned in 1704, Harley interceded for him and obtained liberty and employment for him.

Page 126. 11. *the greatest philologist of the age.* Richard Porson (1759-1808), born of poor parents, went to Eton and Cambridge. He became Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge in 1792. The salary of this was only £40 a year, and his intemperance reduced him to misery. He was forced to write a great number of articles for the *Morning Chronicle.* For these reasons, though one of England's greatest scholars, he wrote little, though he left a treasure-house of MSS. notes. In 1806 he first attained a comfortable subsistence, when he became Librarian of the London

Institution, with £200 a year.

13. *squibs.* Witty, satirical articles or verses on a topical subject.

16. *the greatest historian.* Edward Gibbon, author of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* See Note on Page 79, l. 5.

18. *on the shores of Lake Leman.* At Lausanne, in Switzerland.

heterodoxy. Opposition to received beliefs, incorrect views, opposed to *orthodoxy.* Porson was a Whig writer.

19. *religious heterodoxy.* Gibbon had been a Roman Catholic, a Genevan Protestant, and ended as a sceptic. His great work shows a strong bias against Christianity.

23-4. *an aged writer etc.* Dr. Johnson. See Life of Johnson, Page 91, ll. 15-27 and Notes.

33. *the Task.* A poem in six books, in blank verse, by William Cowper, written in 1783-84.

37. *means were scanty.* A lucrative office in the House of Lords was offered to him, but his mental disorder made him unable to enter upon it. He was completely dependent upon his relations.

Page 127. 1. *the most cruel etc.* Insanity. See Note on William Cowper, Page 33, l. 21.

3-4. *Nowhere had Chatham been praised etc.* In the *Task*, Book II., 233-254.

> "Time was when it was praise and boast enough
> In every clime, and travel where we might,
> That we were born her children ; praise enough
> To fill the ambition of a private man,
> That Chatham's language was his mother-tongue.
> And Wolfe's great name compatriot with his own.
> Farewell those honours ! and farewell with them
> The hope of such hereafter ! They have fallen
> Each in his field of glory : one in arms,
> And one in council—Wolfe upon the lap
> Of smiling Victory that moment won,
> And Chatham, heart-sick of his country's shame !
> They made us many soldiers. Chatham still
> Consulting England's happiness at home,
> Secured it by an unforgiving frown
> If any wronged her. . . . Oh, rise some other such !
> Or all that we have left is empty talk
> Of old achievements, and despair of new."

6-7. *admiring . . . to starve.* A reminiscence of Juvenal's "Probitas laudatur et alget" (Honesty is praised, and starves).

7. *The pension.* A pension of £300 was granted in 1794.

10. *Lord Spencer.* Earl Spencer (1758-1834), a leader, with Portland, of the old Whigs. In 1793 the violence of the Revolutionary movement in France and Fox's sympathy with it, drove him, with Burke and others, into Pitt's party. A very capable First Lord of the Admiralty from 1794 to 1801, he was also a great collector of old books, and a lover of letters.

12-13. *Lord Grey. . . . Scott.* In 1831 it was decided that Sir Walter Scott, the great novelist and romancer, should go to Naples in order to prolong his life. Captain Basil Hall suggested to Graham, First Lord of the Admiralty, that a royal ship should be put at his disposal Earl Grey, who was then Prime Minister, at once agreed to this proposal, to Scott's great gratification.

Earl Grey's policy of reform was distasteful to the Tory views of Scott.

16-17. *Burke. . . . Crabbe.* The poet Crabbe came to London in 1781 to seek his fortune in the world of literature. His appeals to North and Shelburne failed, and he was reduced to misery. He wrote to Burke in despair, who had an interview with him in the midst of the stress of political strife, and who gave him money and took him off to his country house. He found a printer for his poems and induced the Bishop of Norwich to ordain him, Thurlow to grant him a living in the Church, and finally Ruthland to make him his Chaplain.

George Crabbe (1754-1832) is best known by *The Borough* and *The village.*

21. *a Maecenas.* Maecenas was the minister and friend of Augustus and the generous patron of authors of the time, of Virgil and Horace in particular.

a Leo. Leo the Tenth (1475-1521) was Pope from 1513-1521. The son of a patron of letters, Lorenzo the Magnificent, he befriended many men of letters, and was a man of great taste in literature and art. The great Cathedral of St. Peter's was built under his auspices.

21-2. *Dundas made Burns an exciseman.* Robert Burns (1759-1796), the Scottish national poet, whose verses have attained immense popularity, was the son of a small farmer in Ayrshire. His first volume of poems, published in 1786, brought him immediate fame. He became the object of much hero-worship at Edinburgh, married and settled in Dumfriesshire on a farm, and received a post in the Excise through the influence of Dundas. The appointment of a poet to this office has aroused much satire then and since. Burns' moral reputation has suffered many just attacks, but his literary reputation is one of the greatest.

Tam O'Shanter, The Cottar's Saturday Night, and the wonderful songs and short pieces of Burns have made the "ploughboy poet" immortal.

34. *Horae Paulinae etc. Horae Paulinae* (Hours with St. Paul) or *The Truth of the Scripture History of St. Paul* (1790), *Natural Theology* (1802) and *The Evidence of Christianity* (1794) are all works by Paley.

35. *Paley.* Dr. William Paley (1743-1805) was a fellow of Christ Church, Cambridge, and held various benefices in the Church, of considerable value. George III.'s dislike of Paley was the chief reason why no bishopric was given to him.

Page 128. 15. *His first administration.* From 1784 to 1801.

34. *Her trade incraased.* The total volume of trade increased from 28 millions in 1783 to 44 millions in 1792 and to 59 millions in 1798, approximately.

35. *Her Exchequer was full.* It was due to Pitt's measures that there was a surplus of a million in 1786, and that public credit was restored.

37. *The public debt.* In 1783 the National Debt amounted to 273 millions.

Page 129. 6. *a new sinking fund.* Walpole's Sinking Fund of 1716 had funded certain taxes to meet the interest on the debt, any surplus left was to reduce the principal.

Pitt's fund in 1786 created an independent and permanent Board, which received every year one million for the purchase of stock. The interest on this sum was to go to buy more stock, and the money would thereby bear compound interest, and increase in the end to the amount of the debt, which would then be paid off.

The brilliant notion that the money would increase of its own virtue, without touching the tax-payer, dazzled the country. Obviously the error in Pitt's plan was that the interest is bound to come out of the pocket of the tax-payer. It was, in short, merely another form of indirect taxation.

The scheme had two advantages, however, though it led to reckless addition to the Debt. It created a permanent body, independent of the ministry, and it extracted money painlessly from the tax-payers, who were delighted with the scheme.

17. *France had formed a plan etc.* Two factions divided Holland, the democratic opposed to the Prince of Orange which was supported by France, and the party attached to him as hereditary Stadtholder. France hoped to use the first party to gain influence in Holland.

The Prince of Orange was forced to leave the Hague in September 1785. England and Prussia united to restore him, in spite of the danger of war with France. There was no appeal to arms, however, the diplomacy of Lord Malmesbury averted war, and a month later, the Orange party was in power again.

19. *Spain interrupted etc.* The Spaniards claimed the whole of the West Coast of America. Nootka Sound, in Vancouver Island, was occupied by English merchants. The Spaniards seized four ships in 1789, and next year preparations were made for war, and Pitt's attitude was firm. In October a settlement was arranged by a convention.

32. *his perverse obstinacy in the wrong.* Particularly in the question of America.

Page 130. 2. *Grenville.* George Grenville, Prime Minister from 1763-1765.

9. *secret advisers.* Bute and Jenkinson, the "captain of the Praetorian band," as Macaulay calls the latter, were the chief.

13. *mercenaries.* Soldiers of fortune, hired for money.

14. *his friends.* Macaulay in his *Essay on Chatham* describes the party of the "King's Friends" as "a reptile species of politicians never before and never since known in our country. These men disclaimed all political ties except those which bound them to the throne. They were willing to coalesce with any party, to abandon any party, to undermine any party, to assault any party, at a moment's notice. To them all administrations, and all oppositions were the same. They regarded Bute, Grenville, Rockingham, Pitt, without one sentiment either of predilection or aversion. They were the King's friends."

21. *any attempt to undermine him, etc.* Thurlow as "King's Chancellor" claimed independence, but the King found he could dispense with him

and not with Pitt. He was dismissed.

26-7. *Mayor of the Palace.* The majordomus or Mayor of the Palace was an officer of the Court of the Franks in the 8th century A. D., holding great political power. As the office was held by Pepin and other Carlovingians, it made them virtual kings, supreme over the nominal Merovingian kings, who were mere puppets. Pitt was the real king, and George III. merely a figure-head under his control.

34. *a response.* The response of the congregation to the priest during service.

34-5. *His people heartily prayed etc.* The National Anthem prays that the king may live "long to reign over us."

37. *vices and follies.* As a boy the Prince of Wales was already vicious and extravagant. At the age of eighteen, he had already an intrigue with an actress, and in 1784 began his connection with Mrs. Fitzherbert whom he married in 1785. Fox was his chief associate and confidant in his follies. He was extravagant in dress, a lover of horse-racing, boxing, masquerades and drinking. Already in 1783 Parliament had to pay his debts and in 1787 again to the amount of £160,000, and a third time in 1793 of £320,000. His famous Pavilion at Brighton is an example of his tasteless extravagance. Even on the Turf his reputation was shady.

Page 131. 1. *Prince of Wales.* George, Prince of Wales (1762-1830), afterwards King George the Fourth.

5. *opposition, eager for office.* Fox and other Opposition leaders were the intimates of the Prince.

8. *a right to be Regent*, i. e., a divine right, an ultra-Tory doctrine!

12. *estates of the realm.* The constituent parts of the kingdom, the Clergy, the Lords and the Commons, which are the "three estates."

13. *vicegerent.* He who manages the State in place of the King.

22. *principles of the Revolution.* The Revolution of 1688 asserted the right of Parliament to *elect* a King, and denied the doctrine of the divine rights of hereditary monarchy.

34. *equerries.* Originally an officer in charge of the King's horses. Now an officer of the King's household under the Master of the Horse, whose duty it is to accompany the King and attend him.

35. *young patricians etc.* Fox, for example.

Page 132. 3. *Barbara Palmer.* The famous Lady Castlemaine, who was the mistress of Charles II. until 1670. She was created Duchess of Cleveland, and had six children by the King, the three sons being the Duke of Cleveland, the Duke of Grafton and the Duke of Norfolk.

Louisa de Querouaille. A young Breton maid-of-honour to Henrietta of Orleans, who came to England in 1670. She replaced Lady Castlemaine in the King's favour. In 1672 she had a son by the King who was made Duke of Richmond and Lennox. In 1673 she was created Duchess of Portsmouth, and was rewarded by Louis XIV. of France for her political services in maintaining the French influence.

5. *his one virtuous attachment* to Mrs. Fitzherbert, whom the Prince married in 1785. The marriage was invalid, as Parliament had not consented to it. She was a twice widowed lady of great beauty and

irreproachable character, but a Roman Catholic, and for this reason the attachment was reprobated.

21. *on the evening etc.* On March 10th.

24-25. *from Highgate ... Greenwich.* From Highgate in North to Tooting in South London, from Hammersmith in West to Greenwich in East London. The whole of London was a blaze of illumination.

26. *in the cathedral.* In St. Paul's Cathedral.

33. *Downing Street* is the headquarters of the Ministry, Pitt's house as First Lord of the Treasury.

35. *influence in the closet.* Influence with the King himself.

36. *Carr.* Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, the worthless favourite of James I.

Villiers. George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, the successor of Carr in James's favour.

Page 133. 2. *Sacheverell.* See Note on Page 8. l. 30.

5. *dismissed from office.* If the Prince had become Regent, Fox would have been all powerful.

11. *voluntary contributions.* The merchants of London subscribed £100,000, in order to make Pitt independent of political vicissitudes. He refused the money. "No consideration upon earth shall ever induce me to accept it," he said, though he was insolvent at the time.

20. *The States-General of France etc.* The three estates of France met at the invitation of the King as occasion demanded, and they met separately, in three chambers. The junction of these three orders or estates formed the National Assembly.

23. *great Revolution.* The French Revolution which began in 1789 and ended in the destruction of the Bourbon Monarchy, the execution of the King Louis XVI., and the establishment of a Republic.

24-5. *Burke saw much further.* Burke had warned England of the real nature of the Revolution, in Parliament, and in 1790 he published his "Reflections on French Revolution" which was followed by other similar writings. In these he showed that the Revolution was not a mere reform of abuses, but the outcome of a new political religion, which broke entirely with the past and might well gain converts in other countries.

26. *refracted and discoloured.* Macaulay uses the some metaphor as on Page 57, ll. 13-6. (See Note.)

Page 134. 4. *that of Stockdale.* John Stockdale published a pamphlet attacking the promoters of the trial of Warren Hastings, Fox, Burke, Sheridan etc., in 1787. In 1788 Fox brought it before the Commons as a case for libel, and in spite of Pitt's prudent advice Stockdale was brought to trial on Dec. 9th 1789 and prosecuted by the Attorney-General. Erskine, the great lawyer, defended him, and he was acquitted.

9. *a judicious plan etc.* Thirty-six rotten boroughs were to be abolished and the seventy-two seats assigned to other and larger constituencies which were not represented. Compensation was given to the disfranchised boroughs or their owners, and the reform quietly effected.

14-5. *a violent re-action.* A re-action against reform of all kinds, owing to the violence of the French Revolutionary reforms.

17. *Lord Grey etc.* The agitation and riots which preceded the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 were not far removed from actual Civil War.

20-1. *no abolitionist etc.* One of Pitt's finest speeches was delivered in 1762 upon the question of slave-trade.

22. *Wilberforce.* Wilberforce was the leader of the abolitionist party. In 1788 he was so ill that he thought he was about to die, and made Pitt promise to carry on his work and to abolish slavery.

24-5. *middle passage.* The passage by sea from Africa to the West Indies, during which 12½ per cent. on an average died.

26-27. *opposition of ... his colleagues.* Thurlow, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Sydney, Secretary of State and other members of the ministry spoke against the bill, which Thurlow called " nonsense."

30-1. *Appropriation Act.* The act which authorizes the government to *appropriate* and expend funds for the purposes of administration. It is finally read and carried at the close of the session.

33. *impeachment ... dissolution.* The dissolution of Parliament, while the impeachment of Warren Hastings was going on (it was argued on behalf of the accused) ended the impeachment. Fox and Pitt met to consult on this question for the first time since they broke off all relations in 1783.

Page 135. 4. *the inestimable law.* Fox's Libel Bill passed the Commons easily with Pitt's support. It was rejected by the Lords owing to Thurlow's opposition in 1791 but passed in 1792. Under its provisions the criminality of a libel was left to the decision of a jury.

8. *debate on the Test Act.* The Dissenters attempted to repeal the clauses of the Test Act which inflicted disabilities on them. At first Pitt, after consulting the Bishop, opposed it moderately but in 1790, when Fox repeated the motion, with all his vigour. The violence of the French Revolutionists who had seized the property of the Church made men suspect Dissenters of ulterior motives. Certain of the leading Dissenters, moreover, avowedly aimed at the subversion of the Church.

19. *a Hannibal sworn in childhood.* Hannibal, the great Carthaginian general, was the son of Hamilcar, also a general, both of them implacable foes of Rome. The story alluded to is in Livy's History, Book XXI. Ch. 1. " Fama est etiam etc." " There is a story that Hannibal when he was hardly nine years old coaxed his father Hamilcar to take him to Spain, and when the latter, about to take his army thither, was offering a sacrifice, Hannibal was led to the altar. . . . and was bound by an oath to be the enemy of the Roman people as soon as he was able."

22. *Jacobins.* The Jacobins were the extreme Revolutionists in France. They took their name from the convent of Jacobin monks, where they met. Originally a sacret Revolutionary society, the name was applied afterwards in this broader sense.

24. *The first coalition.* Several coalitions or alliances between the European powers were aimed against France. The first was between Austria and Prussia in 1792. Pitt refused to join in it, and was kept in ignorance of its designs.

28. *treaty of commerce.* The Commercial Treaty with France was signed in September 16th 1786 and confirmed by Parliament in 1787. This treaty reduced tariffs between the countries, and tended towards free-trade where possible. It will be remembered that Pitt was a student of Adam Smith. (See Note on P. 98, ll. 17-18) In this matter Pitt was strongly opposed by Fox, who considered France " the natural political enemy of England."

One of the great advantages of this treaty was that it ruined the immense smuggling trade carried on to the detriment of the exchequer.

29. *He was told in the House of Commons etc.* By Sir Philip Francis. " Sir, the glory of Lord Chatham is founded on the resistance he made to the united power of the House of Bourbon. The present Minister has taken the opposite road to fame ; and France, the object of every hostile principle in the policy of Lord Chatham, is the *gens amicissima* of his son."

Page 136. 1. *alien bills.* The Alien Bill was passed in January 1793. It was directed against the spread of revolutionary opinion and propaganda. Harassing as it was and severe upon foreigners, it was necessary, for at that time French agents were busy in Ireland and in India " sowing the revolution."

gagging bills. Bills restricting liberty of speech and of meeting. They were directly due to the outrage of 1807 when at the opening of Parliament the King was shot at and his carriage wrecked. The " Treasonable Practices Bill," the " Seditious Meetings Bill " were then passed, and in 1799 an Act was passed to break up revolutionary societies such as the " Society of the Friends of the People " which had been countenanced by Earl Grey, to his great regret in later days.

2. *Habeas Corpus Act.* The Habeas Corpus Act of Charles II. passed in 1679 is, with the Magna Charta, the foundation of the liberty of the subject. If a subject is imprisoned by a court or by the King he may demand a " writ of habeas corpus," to bring him before the court of the King's Bench which shall judge of the justice of his imprisonment. This Act thereby abolished arbitrary imprisonment. It defined and it enforced a famous clause of the Great Charter of 1215, and enjoined upon the gaoler to *produce the body* of his prisoner and the warrant of imprisonment before the King's Bench.

9. *the apostle who kissed etc.*, i. e. Judas Iscariot. See Note on Page 2, l. 4.

10. *The evil angels etc.* Satan and his angels were once the angels and servants of God but fell into enmity with Him and were cast out from Heaven. " Through pride the angels fell." They fell from their " first estate " or original condition of God's angels.

11. *A satirist of great genius etc.* Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834), one of the most wonderful of English poets, the author of " The Ancient Mariner," wrote a dialogue entitled " Fire, Famine and Slaughter, a War Eclogue." The French civil war in the Vendée is represented as the work of Pitt, and the scene is laid " in a desolated tract of La Vendée, Famine is discovered lying on the ground, enter Fire and Slaughter." Their rhapsodies conclude thus :

"*All.* He let us loose and cried Halloo!
How shall we yield him honour due?
Famine. Wisdom comes with lack of food.
I'll gnaw, I'll gnaw the multitude,
Till the cup of rage o'erbrim:
They shall seize him and his brood —
Slaughter. They shall tear him limb from limb.
Fire. O thankless beldames and untrue
And is this all that you can do
For him who did so much for you?
Ninety months he, by my troth,
Hath richly catered for you both:
And in an hour would you repay
An eight years' work? Away! away!
I alone am faithful! I
Cling to him everlastingly."

18-20. *Fire ... would cling to eternity,* i.e. Pitt would go to hell, and be burned in eternal fires!

21. *French tribune.* French public orators in Parliament or elsewhere.

22-23. *Pitt and his guineas.* Pitt was believed by the Jacobins to have subsidised the Royalists and instigated their resistance in the Vendée and in the south at Lyons and Toulon, during the reign of Terror. After the Reign of Terror he was believed to have subsidised the Jacobins and instigated their atrocities, hoping to discredit the cause of Revolution thereby.

Both these absurd and contradictory accusations seemed to have been equally believed.

23. *Jacobins were dominant.* The extreme Revolutionists were dominant between June 1793 when they overthrew the Girondins and July 1794. Their period of rule was marked by the horrors of the Reign of Terror.

24. *The Gironde.* The moderate Republicans, the party of the Girondins, most of the leaders of which came from Bordeaux and the district surrounding it which is called the Gironde. Most of them were guillotined during the Reign of Terror by the then triumphant Jacobin party.

25. *Lyons. ... Convention.* Many of the towns resisted the Jacobin domination in the Convention. In September 1792 the Convention or Revolutionary Assembly met to draw up a new constitution after the deposition of Louis XVI.

26. *suborned Paris ... Lepelletier.* Lepelletier was a deputy who had voted in the Assembly for the execution of the King. He was assassinated in a restaurant by Pâris, a soldier of the King's Guard on January 20th 1793, the day before the King was executed. "It was five on Saturday evening when Lepelletier Saint-Fargeau having given his vote, *No Delay,* ran over to Février's in Palais Royal to snatch a morsel of dinner. He had dined and was paying. A thick-set man 'with black hair and blue beard,' in a loose kind of frock, slipped up to him; it was as Février and the bystanders bethought them, one Pâris of the old King's Guard, 'Are you Lepelletier?' asks he. 'Yes.' 'You voted in the King's business?' 'I voted Death.' 'Scélérat, take that,' cries Pâris, flashing out a sabre from under his frock, and plunging it deep in Lepelletier's side. Février clutches him; but he breaks off; is gone." (Carlyle, *French Revolution* III. II.)

26-7. *Cécile Regnault ... Robespierre.* Cécile Regnault attempted to murder Robespierre as Charlotte Corday had murderd Marat. "It is still but the 23rd of May, and towards nine in the evening, Cécile Regnault, Paper-dealer's daughter, a young woman of soft blooming look, presents herself at the cabinet-maker's in the Rue Saint-Honoré, desires to see Robespierre. Robespierre cannot be seen; she grumbles irreverently. They lay hold of her. She has left a basket in a shop hard by; in the basket are female change of raiment, and two knives! Poor Cécile, examined by Committee, declares she 'wanted to see what a tyrant was like.' The change of raiment was 'for my own use in the place I am surely going to.' 'What place?' 'Prison; and then the guillotine.'"

And Carlyle adds the comment: "O, Pitt, and ye Faction of the Stranger, shall the Republic never have rest." (*French Revolution* III. VI.)

27-8. *Thermidorian reaction.* Robespierre and other Jacobin leaders fell from power and were executed on July 28th 1794. The Reign of Terror came to an end and a reaction towards a more moderate policy followed.

The Revolution instituted a new calendar of years and months. Thermidor (the Hot Month) is the name of the month beginning on July 19th and ending August 18th. Hence the date of this coup d'état on the Revolutionary Calendar was the 10th Thermidor, year 2.

29. *Collot d' Herbois.* One of the Executive Committee of the Convention, with Robespierre, Saint Just and nine others. He was notorious for the massacres he directed at Lyons in Oct. 1793. Companies were shot of over two hundred at a time in the horrible *Fasillades.*

Fouquier-Thinville. The Attorney General of the Revolutionary Tribunal, the prosecutor of Marie Antoinette, of the Girondins, of Danton and Robespierre, and of the great mass of "suspects" who were guillotined during the Reign of Terror. The most blood-thirsty and unscrupulous of men, he was guillotined himself in 1795.

31. *murderers of September.* Under the pretext of public danger from invasion, over a thousand suspects in the Paris prisons were massacred by paid assassins in September 1792.

The crime is known as the "Massacres of September" and the assassins were called "les Septembriseurs."

32. *pamphlets of Marat.* Marat, the infamous editor of a violent newspaper *l' Ami du Peuple*" (the Peoples' Friend), published a number of revolutionary pamphlets. He was assassinated by Charlotte Corday on July 13th 1793.

Carmagnoles of Barere. The word Carmagnole was variously applied to the dress of the Jacobins, the revolutionary songs, and the dances of the mob along the streets or around the guillotine to the music of these songs, such as the *Marseillaise* or *Ca ira.* Carmagnola, in Piedmont, is the home of the Savoyards who are noted for street singing and dancing. Their peculiar dress was worn by the Jacobins, and the word thus came into use in its various transferred meanings.

Barère called the speeches in favour of the execution of Louis XVI. "Carmagnoles." He was a lawyer and journalist from the South who made a name for himself in Paris. He presided at the trial of Louis XVI. and was banished in 1795 as a Terrorist.

33. *Lebon...Arras.* Lebon was an ex-priest, the director of the massacres at Arras in North France. As representative of the Committee, he distinguished himself by the most revolting cruelty.

33-34. *Carrier......Loire.* Carrier was another of the atrocious emissaries of the Committee. Sent to Nantes on the Loire, in the West of France, in October, 1793, to suppress the revolt against the Convention, he carried out his orders with zeal. Prisoners were massacred in the gaols, or shot in batches. They were put on board a barge in large numbers on the Loire at night. The barge was then sunk in the river with its prisoners. These *Noyades* (Drownings) as they were called took place twenty-five times and the Loire was indeed "choked with corpses."

Page 137. 5. *apostasy.* Unfaithfulness to his principles.

That he remained true to his principles of liberty is proved by the fact that in the very midst of this storm he granted a Parliament and Constitution to Canada, in 1791.

16. *Bonaparte.* Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821), afterwards Napoleon the First, Emperor of the French, was of Corsican birth. He distinguished himself first as a young artillery officer at Toulon, rose rapidly in the army, and commanded the French in Italy with wonderful success. He became practically Dictator of France and was made First Consul, on the overthrow of the Directors. He became Consul for Life and Emperor of France in 1803, made vast conquests, gained great victories over Germany, Russia and Austria in 1806-7 and became master of Europe. His fall began in Spain and Portugal where the Duke of Wellington resisted all his armies (1810-12), while Napoleon himself failed disastrously in the Expedition of the Grand Army to Russia in 1812. In March 1813 after a campaign of defeat Napoleon abdicated the throne and was exiled to the island of Elba. Two years later on March 1st 1815 he set forth again for France, regained his power with his people in twenty days, and attempted to negotiate with the Powers, which refused and combined to dethrone him. The campaign of 1815 ended with the Battle of Waterloo on June 16th. He was completely defeated by Wellington and Blücher and their British and Prussian army. The allies entered Paris. Napoleon abdicated the throne again at Fontainebleau and was exiled to St. Helena, where he lived until 1821.

19-20. *the nation and Pitt......looked with approbation.* Fox exclaimed on the capture of the Bastille: "How much is this the greatest event that ever happened in the world! And how much the best!"

The great poets Coleridge and Wordsworth sang the praises of the Revolution, and Pitt said in a speech in 1790:—

"The present convulsions in France must sooner or later terminate in general harmony and regular order. . . . Whenever the situation of France shall become restored, it will prove freedom rightly understood, freedom resulting from good order and good government; and thus circumstanced, France will stand forward as one of the most brilliant Powers of Europe."

20-1. *vast confiscations.* The property of the Church and the property of the émigré nobles were confiscated to the State and sold.

21. *ancient institutions.* On the famous night of August 4th 1789 the

nobles resigned all their privileges, and the Church its tithes.

22. *domination of clubs.* Political clubs, such as the Jacobin Club, under Robespierre, or the Cordelier Club under Marat, dominated France.

barbarities of mobs. Such barbarities as were witnessed at the capture of the Bastille and the insurrection of starving women in 1789, the massacre of the Swiss Guard and the massacres of September in 1792.

28. *Antijacobins.* Opponents of the extreme Jacobin Revolutionaries. Canning edited a famous journal called The Antijacobin during 1797-8.

33. *Burke set the example.* He had long uttered warnings. In 1790 his "Reflections on the Revolution" were published. In 1791 he finally broke with Fox, after a heated debate in Parliament.

34. *Loughborough.* Alexander Wedderburn, Lord Loughborough (1733-1805), afterwards Earl of Rosslyn, was Lord Chancellor from 1793-1801. He had held office under North, after being in the opposition, then returned to the Whig party to hold office in the Coalition Ministry. He was one of the most unscrupulous and unprincipled of politicians.

35. *Carlisle.* The Earl of Carlisle (1748-1825) was an intimate of Fox, guaranteed his debts and lost thereby heavily. He was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland from 1780 to 1782, and a moderate Whig, on the whole. He supported Pitt steadily in his policy at the close of the 18th century against the Revolution.

Malmesbury. James Harris, Earl of Malmesbury (1746-1820), a notable diplomat, ambassador at Madrid (1768), Berlin (1772), St. Petersburg (1776) and The Hague (1784). His *Diaries and Correspondence*, of great historical importance as documents, were published in 1844.

Elliot. Sir Gilbert Elliot, afterwards Baron Minto (1751-1814), was a supporter of North in Parliament, afterwards of Fox and Burke. He made his name in the trial of Warren Hastings, joined Pitt's party and was Governor-General of India from 1806-1813.

Page 138. 7. *He laboured hard etc.* He was determined that England should remain neutral in her attitude, refused to join the first Coalition of Austria and Prussia, and not till late in 1792 was he convinced that it was impossible to keep out of the struggle. This is proved beyond all doubt by the fact that no preparations had been made for war.

8. *war broke out.* In April 1792, France declared war upon the Emperor Francis.

10. *In the spring of* 1792 *etc.* The King's speech at the opening of Parliament contained this sentence: "The friendly assurances which I receive from Foreign Powers, and the general state of Europe, appear to promise to my subjects the continuance of their present tranquillity." In his Budget speech on 17th February, Pitt said: "Unquestionably there never was a time in the history of this country when, from the situation of Europe, we might more reasonably expect fifteen years of peace than we may at the present moment."

For these reasons Pitt reduced the expenditure upon the Navy, refused to subsidise mercenaries, repealed certain taxes, and gave hopes of further reductions.

16-17. *The republicans......fanaticisms.* "A theory concerning Government," wrote Burke, "may become as much a cause of fanaticism as a dogma in religion."

18. *Mussulmans* ... *Koran.* Just as the Musulmans offered the choice in their war of the "Koran or the sword," i. e. of conversion or death, so the French cried "La Fraternité ou la Mort" (Fraternity or Death), i. e. acceptance of their political theories or death. Their wars were animated with the desire to spread Republicanism and to free the nations of Europe from the tyranny of monarchies.

Koran. The Koran is the sacred book of Islam containing their code of religion, law, and social customs.

19. *conquering and converting etc.* Within a century of the Hejira, the beginning of the Musulman era, the Musulman power had spread as far as India in the East and Spain in the West.

20-1. *Pillars of Hercules,* i. e. the Straits of Gibraltar. The two rocks, of Abyla on the Moroccan coast and Calpe on the Spanish, were known as the Pillars of Hercules in ancient times. Both Spain and Morocco were conquered by the Saracens in the 8th Century A. D.

23. *Crusaders ... at Clermont.* Peter the Hermit aroused Europe by his preaching to wreak vengeance upon the infidels who had desecrated the Sepulchre of Christ at Jerusalem. In 1095 Pope Urban II. called a great meeting of nobles at Clermont in France and in response to his appeal they cried fervently *Deus vult* "it is the will of God." These words they then used as a battle-cry in their crusade, or holy war. The Crusaders wore the Christian symbol of the *Cross* upon their arms and dress, whence they took the name of Crusader, and the war the name of Crusade.

Page 139. 2. *He should have proclaimed a Holy War etc.* No more inconsistent accusation has ever been made by a responsible historian. Macaulay speaks as though it were possible to lead a crusade against Jacobinism in France and yet protect Jabobinism in England. He blames Pitt for not repressing Jacobinism in France and blames him for repressing Jacobinism in England by means of the Alien Bill, the Gagging Bills, etc., "harsh laws harshly executed."

Burke's policy, as he wrote to the émigré army, was one of terror, "Be alarmists, diffuse terror!" And to the "terror" of Brunswick's army was directly due not a little of the "Terror" in France. Pitt's policy was to "leave France, which he believed was the best way, to arrange its own internal affairs as it can."

9-10. *A state which was also a sect.* See Notes on *fanaticism* and *Mussulmans,* above.

11-2. *old quarrels etc.* The long wars between England and France in the reigns of William III. and Queen Anne turned mainly upon the possession of the Netherlands (Holland). During the Seven Years' War, England and France fought out a struggle for supremacy in America.

16-7. *Court of Versailles.* The Court of the French King at Versailles, near Paris, notorious for its vice and corruption in the days of Louis XV.

17. *Madame de Pompadour.* Jeanne Poisson (1721—1764), the daughter of a butcher, became the mistress of Louis XV. and was created Mar-

quise de Pompadour in 1745. Her influence dominated France from 1745 until her death.

Abbé de Bernis (1715—1794) owed his advance in power to Madame de Pompadour. He was made Archbishop of Albi and Cardinal and was Foreign Secretary in 1757-8. He lost favour and was exiled in 1758.

21. *assignats.* Paper money, notes issued on the security of lands confiscated from the Church aud the émigré nobles by the revolutionary government.

24. *Alboin.* Alboin was a King of the Lombards who conquered Italy in the year 568 and established a great kingdom with Pavia as its capital. He was assassinated by the orders of his queen Rosamunde, the daughter of a king whom he conquered and slew, in 573.

25. *Exchequer bills.* An Exchequer bill is a temporary loan issued for a short period, an unfunded debt, as distinguished from the funded or permanent debt.

26. *at par.* The price of the bills of £100 each varies according to the credit of the government, the lower the price, the lower the credit. If they are bought *at par*, they are bought at full price, *i.e.* 100 per cent. The sentence therefore means, "as if the credit of Attila's government had been perfectly sound."

Macaulay has here adapted a phrase from a conversation of Pitt with the Abbé de Legeard. In 1795 when Pitt had been arguing that the French were in a gulf of bankruptcy, and that he could calculate the very time by which their resources would be consumed, his fellow-guest, the Abbé remarked, "I should like to know who was Chancellor of the Exchequer to Attila."

Attila. The King of the Huns, called the "Scourge of God," who conquered and devastated Europe in the fifth century. He was defeated in the great battle of Chalons in 451 and died in 453.

29. *his military administration ... driveller.* This is one of Macaulay's most famous and uncritical judgments. The whole of the accusation is written in Macaulay's earlier rhetorical, "smashing" manner. "The English army was the laughing-stock of Europe" is a pretty phrase, but the fact is that no army in Europe was in a position to laugh at another. All were equally the laughing-stocks of the wonderful Revolutionary army of France under the greatest general in the world's history, Napoleon. The French army was a "nation in arms" and the mere standing armies of monarchs who had little heart in the conflict, were unable to resist them. Not till they met other "nations in arms," in Spain, Portugal and Russia, did the French meet with failure. Macaulay ignores completely the utter difference between the armies of Louis XIV. and those of Napoleon.

Secondly, is it likely, on the face of it, that a man should be brilliant in financial, commercial and *naval* administration, and fall to drivelling when he touched the army? Macaulay ignores for the purposes of his argument the wonderful record of the British Navy under Pitt's administration, St. Vincent, Camperdown, the Nile, Trafalgar, and the unbroken command of the sea.

"When our armies retreat, the Prime Minister is solely to be blamed! when our fleets prevail, the Prime Minister is to have no share in the praise!" (*Stanhope.*) And the command of the sea was infinitely more important to England than a Blenheim or a Ramillies. It saved England's very existence, prevented invasion and the ruin of British trade, and was the first cause of Napoleon's downfall. This Pitt realised himself.

Thirdly, the principle of small expeditions, which lies at the root of Macaulay's criticism, is defensible enough. Pitt endeavoured to raise resistance in La Vendée in France itself, and in Holland. He failed, but the same principle, applied twelve years later in Spain and Portugal, succeeded completely and ruined Napoleon. The worst of these failures moreover took place after Pitt's death, the Walcheren expedition and others.

One of Pitt's expeditions resulted in victories which frustrated a gigantic scheme of Napoleon. The naval victory of the Nile and the land victory of Alexandria not only drove the French from Egypt but saved the Indian Empire.

Fourthly, Pitt had to co-operate with Kings who were as self-seeking as Napoleon himself. To form coalitions among them was no mean achievement for a military diplomatist, and to furnish supplies to carry on the war was possible only to the financial genius of Pitt. War administration in the end is a question of finance, and Pitt's administration doubled the financial resources of England.

Finally it is clear that Macaulay is working up to a paradox: "It may seem paradoxical to say etc."

37. *Louvois.* Louvois (1639-1691) was the Minister of war to Louis XIV, from 1661 to 1691. He organized the French standing army, and to his administration and to the genius of his great general Turenne were due the French successes in Holland and the Empire.

Wellesley. The Duke of Wellington, in India and the Peninsular war.

Page 144. 4. *Blenheim.* On August 13th 1704 the Duke of Marlborough with Prince Eugene completely defeated the French and Bavarian army under Marshal Tallard at Blenheim in Bavaria, and cleared Germany of the French.

5. *Ramilies.* On May 23rd 1706 Marlborough defeated Marshal Villeroy at Ramilies in Flanders and gained the mastery of the country.

Poitiers. In 1356 Edward, Prince of Wales, the "Black Prince" defeated the French under King John of France and took him prisoner at Poitiers. Poitiers on the Loire, is in the Royalist and Catholic province of La Vendée which revolted against the Republic in 1793-95, and whither Pitt sent an unsuccessful expedition.

10. *American War.* The War of American Independence (1775-1782.)

11. *Seven Years' War.* The Seven Years' War was fought out between England and France in America and India from 1756-1763. The Peace of Paris, which ended it, acknowledged the supremacy of England in both countries.

War of the Austrian Succession. This war (1740-1748) turned on the rival claims of Frederick the Great of Prussia and Maria Theresa of Austria to Silesia. England supported Maria Theresa against the Allied Kingdoms. It was ended by the Peace Aix-la-Chapelle, when England withdrew from the contest.

The expenditure of these wars is indicated by the growth of the National Debt.

In 1702,	the Debt amounted to	£ 13,000,000
In 1714,	after the Spanish Succession War	£ 36,000,000
In 1748,	after the Austrian Succession War	£ 76,000,000
In 1763,	after the Seven Years' War	£133,000,000
In 1783,	after the American War	£273,000,000

During Pitt's first administration he added £292,000,000 to the debt, the great part of which went to furnish subsidies to the allies.

15. *on the Continent.* In 1793 the Duke of York's expedition to Dunkirk failed. He was defeated at Tomcoing and forced to re-embark.

Lord Moira's expedition sent to assist the revolt in the Vendée was a failure.

Lord Hood, who had occupied Toulon which was in revolt against the Republic, was forced to evacuate the town. In 1794 Corsica was occupied by the British and abandoned two years later.

In 1795 an expedition of émigrés to Quiberon, helped by an English fleet, ended in disaster, and the massacre of the émigrés. In 1799 the Duke of York's second expedition, in Holland, came to a futile end.

17. *some sugar island etc.* Tobago in the West Indies was taken in 1793.

18. *Irish peasants.* A rebellion broke out in Ireland in 1798 in Wexford. Lord Lake defeated the rebels at Vinegar Hill on May 21st. Certain other conquests were made which Macaulay does not mention. The Spice Islands were taken, the capture of Cape Town gave South Africa into British hands, and Ceylon was added to our Indian dependencies. As already pointed out, other successes were won in Egypt.

21. *no mismanagement could ruin.* J. R. Green, who shares Macaulay's opinion upon Pitt in the main, thinks differently on this matter. "Even during the peace," he writes, "great efforts were made to preserve the efficiency of the navy, and the recent alarms of war...had ended in raising it to a strength which it had never reached before."

24-25. *fraternal partiality.* There is no doubt as to the justness of this accusation. Yet, painful as it was to him, as soon as he was convinced of his brother's incapacity, he did not hesitate to place the public good before his feelings and, in spite of Chatham's protests, he was relegated to minor posts.

34. *schism.* The cleavage or division of parties.

35. *followed Burke,* i. e., in opposition to the Revolution.

Page 141. 2-4. *interrupted twice...by......victories.* On February 14th 1797 the battle of St. Vincent was won and on October 11th in the same year the battle of Camperdown. Macaulay omits all mention of the battle known as the battle of the "Glorious First of June" won by Lord Howe near Brest in 1794, which should surely be counted to the credit of

Chatham, if victories are to be taken as the standard of a minister's credit.

5. *paradoxical.* Macaulay is bent on proving his thesis that Pitt is a mere parliamentary leader with no talent in any other capacity. The greater his incapacity in the conduct of war, the more extraordinary it was that he should continue in power, the more it proves his capacity as a parliamentary leader.

17-18. *subjugating Flanders, etc.* Flanders and Brabant, the Austrian Netherlands, were conquered by the French under Dumouriez in 1792-94, Mentz (Mainz or Mayence) and Treves in 1792, Holland was invaded in 1794-95, and Napoleon in his Italian campaign of 1796 overran Piedmont, Liguria and Lombardy, of which the chief towns are respectively Turin, Genoa and Milan.

22. *Lodi.* At the bridge of Lodi Napoleon won his first great victory in his Italian campaign of 1796 (May 10th). He defeated the Austrian army completely, and distinguished himself by his own great personal bravery.

23. *Arcole.* A second advance of Austrian armies in Italy ended in their defeat in a three days' battle at Arcole in Lombardy (15th-17th Nov. 1796).

Napoleon had defeated the Austrian army of Warmser and shut him up in Mantua, and an attempt was made to release him.

Rivoli. Near Verona and Lake Garda. Napoleon defeated the Austrians in their last attempt to relieve Mantua on 14th-15th January, 1797.

Marengo. In Piedmont. In 1800 Napoleon re-crossed the Alps and his second Italian campaign was signalized by the victory of Marengo on 14th June. One of his most decisive victories, it left Lombardy in his possession, broke the Austrian resistance, and paved the way for the Peace of Luneville in the following year. The greatest victories of Pitt, says Macaulay, and those which consolidated his power, were won in the House of Commons. He was the Napoleon of the Parliament.

25. *a new department.* In 1792 already the "departments" of Savoy and Nice were added to the Republic.

26. *insurrection in Ireland.* See Note above on Page 140, l. 18.

mutiny in the fleet. Two mutinies in the fleet broke out in the year 1797, the first in April at Spithead, the second in May and June at the Nore.

27. *panic in the city.* In the great financial crisis of 1793 over a hundred banks failed. Pitt saved the situation by authorizing loans of £5,000,000 to solvent merchants.

a run on the Bank. In 1797 large withdrawals of bullion reduced the reserve of the Bank of England to such an extent that the Government authorized the Bank to suspend specie payment on Feb. 20th. It was directly due to the news of Hoche's intended descent upon Ireland, and the consequent desire to realise property.

Page 142. 5. *Fox had retired.* Fox and his followers rarely attended Parliament between 1797 and 1801. A small party of six or seven Whigs usually formed the negligible opposition in the House.

St. Anne's Hill. Near Chertsey in Surrey.

7. *a woman, etc.* Mrs. Armistead, with whom Fox had lived for some time, was married to him in 1795. She had bought the estate of St. Anne's Hill in 1778.

8. *the illustrious dead, etc.*, i.e. the great authors of Greek, Roman and Italian literature. He spent most of his days at St. Anne's Hill in literary pursuits. He was a great lover of the classics.

18. *Habeas Corpus Act, etc,* It was suspended practically continuously from 1794 to 1801, by Acts of Parliament. It may only be suspended for specific reasons and for a given time.

19. *Public meetings.* The Sedition Act of 1795 provided that every meeting should be advertised by responsible householders and could be dispersed by two justices after reading the Riot Act.

21. *aliens.* Under the Alien Bill of 1793.

23-24. *Writers. . . . were punished.* Tom Paine, the author of the *Rights of Man*, was prosecuted in 1792, failed to appear in court and was outlawed. Publishers and printers of the book were tried and convicted. The proprietors of the *Morning Chronicle* were prosecuted for publishing a seditious political address, and a dissenting minister, Winterbotham, for preaching seditious sermons.

25. *It was hardly safe, etc.* In 1793 there were several such cases. Frost, a lawyer who had been associated with Pitt and the Duke of Richmond in the cause of parliamentary reform, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, to stand in the pillory, and to have his name struck off the roll. Briellat was sentenced to a year's imprisonment and a fine of £100. Dr. Hudson was sentenced to two years' imprisonment and a fine of £200. In all these cases the offence was seditious language in a coffee-house during or after dinner. The best story of this sort is told by Lord Campbell in his *Lives of the Chancellors* (vi. 205): "A yeoman in his cups, being exhorted by a constable, as drunk as himself, to keep the peace in the King's name, muttered 'D—you and the King too': for which the loyal Quarter Sessions of Kent sentenced him to a year's imprisonment." (Downie's Note).

30-31. *Men of cultivated minds, etc.* The Scotch offenders in the trials of 1793-4 were punished with exceptional severity. The contention was urged that banishment, not transportation, was the extreme penalty. To which Lord Braxfield, the presiding judge, replied: "Let them bring me more prisoners, and I will find them law."

Thomas Muir, a Scotch advocate, a member of the "Society of the Friends of the People," was charged with sedition, fled, was outlawed and, on returning, sentenced to 14 years' transportation at Botany Bay.

The Rev. Fyshe Palmer, once a Fellow of Queen's, a Unitarian minister, was transported for seven years, among others, to all of whom the exile was a living death.

33. *Botany Bay.* Port Jackson in Botany Bay, New South Wales, Australia, was first used as a convict settlement in 1787.

34. *Some reformers, etc.* Certain members of the Corresponding Society and of the Society for Constitutional Information were examined before the Privy Council, sent to the Tower, and tried for high treason in 1794.

They were defended by Erskine and, after a trial lasting eight days, found "Not guilty." Horne Tooke is the best known among these reformers.

It may be noted that it is hardly a sufficient defence of these men to say that they did not "dream of physical force," for opinion was a very real force in those days, and Jacobinism, as has been pointed out before, was an enemy in England as in France.

Page 143. 3-4. *by posterity*. A monument stands on the Calton Hill at Edinburgh in honour of the Reform martyrs in Scotland.

20. *the first ... minister.* Chatham in 1776 formed great plans for the better government of Ireland. Rockingham in 1782 granted legislative independence to Ireland, a step of the greatest importance.

great designs. The greatest of Pitt's designs is not mentioned by Macaulay, the removal of all restrictions upon Ireland's trade, which Pitt "dragged through Parliament" against the opposition of Fox and Burke and which was rejected by the Irish Parliament, led by Grattan and Flood.

26. *Roman Catholics*. Apart from liberal considerations of justice, Pitt had long seen the danger of Catholic disaffection. But the Protestants in Ireland were dominant in the Irish Parliament and were opposed to all refom which would take away their monopoly of the franchise and power.

Lord Fitzwilliam, when appointed Lord-Lieutenant, encouraged hopes among the Catholics of complete emancipation at once and Grattan brought in a bill in 1795 to that effect. Pitt had intended to deal more cautiously, on account of Protestant violence, and this untimely move was highly obnoxious to him. Fitzwilliam was recalled, a reactionary, Camden, appointed and the Catholics prepared for revolution and became extreme Jacobins.

29. *rebellion of* 1798. See Note above on Page 140, l. 18.

34-5. *risings of* 1641 *and* 1689. In 1641, on the fall of Strafford, a revolt broke out in Ulster and spread over Ireland. It resolved itself into a religious struggle between the Confederate Catholics and the Protestants, and was signalized by the most horrible cruelty. In the anarchy of the Civil War it was impossible to crush the rebellion and not until 1649 did it end, when Cromwell devastated the country and took a fearful revenge for the massacres of the English and Protestants in 1641.

In 1689, at the Revolution, James placed his hopes upon Ireland to regain his crown. A revolt broke out and Ireland was soon in the hands of the rebels. A Catholic Parliament met King James at Dublin, property confiscated from Protestants and their massacre threatened. William III landed in 1690, defeated the Jacobite rebels at the Battle of the Boyne (July 1st) and in the following year they were crushed. "The most terrible legal tyranny under which a nation has ever groaned avenged the rising." (*J. R. Green.*)

Page 144. 1. *how the victory should be used*. The preceding Note shows how Cromwell and William III used their victories.

7. *civil disabilities*. Exclusion from the rights of citizenship. They had received the franchise in 1793 but not until 1829 had they the right to sit in Parliament or to hold posts under the crown.

13. *Parliament in College Green*. The Irish Parliament held its sittings

in a building on College Green, in front of Trinity College, Dublin.

14. *jobbers.* A jobber is one who distributes patronage for money, or uses the power of office for his own purposes.

16-17. *the most tyrannical and ... corrupt assembly.* The Irish Parliament, represented only the small Protestant minority in Ireland, and was practically owned by a number of landowners, who used their power in a scandalously unjust way. "Only by hard bribery," says Green, "could the English Viceroys secure their co-operation in the simplest measures."

26. *traitors and sycophants.* Lord Loughborough, the Lord Chancellor, while at Weymouth in attendance on the King, received a confidential letter from Pitt explaining his proposals, and at once showed it to the King. Together with Moore, Archbishop of Canterbury, Stuart, Archbishop and Primate of Ireland, and Lord Auckland, he aroused the King's opposition for reasons of conscience.

sychophants. Base flatterers, whose one object is to gain favour.

34. *Dundas tried to explain.* The King was much in favour of the scheme. "I only hope," he said to Dundas about this time, "Government is not pledged to anything in favour of the Roman Catholics." "No," the minister replied, "it will be a matter for future consideration"; and on the King going on to allege his scruples upon the Coronation Oath, he endeavoured to explain that this Oath applied to his Majesty only in his executive capacity, and not as part of the Legislature. But George, the Third angrily rejoined: "None of your Scotch metaphysics, Mr. Dundas! none of your Scotch metaphysics!"

35-36. *Pitt ... resigned.* Pitt, Grenville, Windham, Dundas, Cornwallis, and Castlereagh all resigned office.

Page 145. 6. *House of Savoy.* The Duke of Savoy had married Anne, the daughter of Henrietta Stuart, and grand-daughter of Charles I. His descendants were therefore in a more direct line of succession to the throne than George III himself, who was descended from Elizabeth, daughter of James I.

11-12. *that party, week in numbers etc.* The party of Fox, which agreed with Pitt on the question of Catholic Emancipation.

19. *the rear ranks of the old ministry etc.* The minor members of the old Tory ministry.

25. *Henry Addington.* Henry Addington (1757-1844) was the son of a physician. He gave up law for politics, entered Parliament in 1783 and was made Speaker in 1789. In 1801 the King chose him as Prime Minister in succession to Pitt. In 1805 he was made Viscount Sidmouth. He was thrice President of the Council and, in 1819-21, Home Secretary and the unpopular author of the coercive "Six Acts." In 1824 he ceased to hold office. Bigoted and narrow-minded as he was, he was a favourite with the King.

27. *a hereditary friend.* Addington's father was the family physician of the Pitt's.

28. *placed......in the chair,* i. e. he was elected Speaker of the House of Commons.

31. *Onslow.* Arthur Onslow (1691-1768) was Speaker during the long

period of thirty-three years (1728-1761). A dignified, impartial and capable chairman, the House passed, on his retirement, a warm vote of thanks for his services, and he has been the model for all subsequent Speakers.

Page 146. 10. *a favourite with the King etc.* The King greatly desired a less imperious minister than Pitt. On the question of Catholic Emancipation he found himself for the first time on the side of public opinion, and Pitt contrary to it. For this reason he was able to stand firm and to obtain a minister after his heart.

13-14. *a peace with France.* The preliminaries of the Treaty of Amiens were signed in October 1801, and the Treaty itself on March 27th 1802.

18-19. *Bonaparte, now First Consul.* The French Republic established Consuls in imitation of the Roman Republic. The Directory was overthrown by Bonaparte on his return from Syria and he was made Consul with Cambacérés and Lebrun in 1799. In 1800 he became First Consul for 10 years with a salary of 500,000 francs and with dictatorial powers.

20. *new ecclesiastical establishment.* By the famous *Concordat* with the Pope Napoleon re-established the Roman Catholic Church as a State Church, and Pope recognized and consecrated his rule.

21. *order of knighthood.* The Legion of Honour, the French National Order of Merit, founded in May 1802. The first grade of this order is that of the " Chevalier de la Légion." (*Knight* of the Legion.)

26. *Treaty of Amiens.* The dissolution of the Armed Neutrality of the Northern powers against England left Napoleon alone in the war and unable to withstand the naval supremacy of England. He therefore made peace in order to gain strength for a future struggle. It was rather a long armistice than a peace. Under its provisions France was to withdraw from Southern Italy, England recognized the French Government and restored the colonies taken from France, Holland and Spain, except Ceylon and Trinidad, to the allies, and Egypt to Turkey.

31. *The old opposition.* Fox and his party.

32. *A new opposition.* This party was opposed to the peace.

Page 147. 6. *The bench.* The Ministers sit on the Front Bench and their supporters on the benches behind them on the same side of the House.

12. *It was hardly possible etc.* Pitt's followers, as well as Pitt himself, were conscious of their superiority to the ministers in office under Addington.

23. *In retirement his days passed heavily.* Pitt was Warden of the Cinque Ports and spent most of his time at Walmer Castle. It is extremely probable that Macaulay's notion of Pitt sitting in dungeon and hungering for power is erroneous. Pitt's health was already breaking up in 1798 and in 1802 he was seriously ill. The repose was no doubt grateful to him. He busied himself in 1803 in drilling a body of 3000 volunteers to oppose the feared French invasion.

24-26. *He could not......Euripides and Herodotus.* Rosebery and Stanhope in their biographies give a different account. " We possess a graphic account of the little sitting-dining-room at Hollwood, with the long easy chair on which the weary minister would throw himself, below the hanging shelf of volumes, among which a thumbed and dog-eared Virgil was specially paramount. His rooms at Hollwood and Walmer, says one of his friends, were strewn with Latin and Greek classics. Lord Grenville, a consummate judge, declared that Pitt was the best Greek scholar he ever conversed with." (Rosebery.) "When retired from office, and living at Walmer Castle, Pitt, like Fox, reverted with much relish to his books. The classics, Latin and Greek, seemed to be, as my father told me, Pitt's favourite reading at that period." (*Stanhope.*)

33. *Abou Hassan.* Abou Hassan was a Baghdad merchant who one day received the Caliph Haroun-al-Raschild as a guest. The Caliph mixed an opiate with his drink, and in his sleep had him carried to the palace and put in his own bed. Next morning he was treated as the Caliph and he came to believe that he was actually Caliph. At the end of the day in his sleep he was carried back to his house again. When he awoke he still believed that he was Caliph and was beaten and imprisoned in order to cure him of his delusion.

The story is similar to that of Christopher Sly, in the *Induction* to Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew.*

35. *Caliphate.* The Caliph or Khalif is the successor of Mahomed and rules the Mahomedan world. In the 8th century the Moslem empire was divided into two Caliphates, that of Baghdad and that of Cordova. The Sultan of Turkey is now the hereditary Grand Caliph.

Page 148. 2. *triumvirate.* The word was applied originally to two coalitions of three who ruled Rome, Cæsar, Pompey and Crassus in 60 B. C., and Octavius, Antony and Lepidus in 43 B. C. (Latin. *trium.* Gen. of *tres,* " three," and *vir* " man.")

8. *sent to keep his place, etc.* Lord Malmesbury reports that Addington once spoke of himself as a " *locum tenens* for Pitt."

10. *Others praised him etc.* Tierney, the leader of the opposition of six or seven to Pitt, accused him in a speech in Parliament of the faults which Macaulay here enumerates.

Pitt complained of the evident ill-feeling from which these accusations arose. He had, indeed, fought a duel with Tierney four years before this, in 1798.

23. *Canning.* See Note above. Macaulay here gives a summary of Canning's character. Pitt, says Lord Rosebery, loved Canning as a son, a friend and a disciple.

26. *he spoke, etc.* He wrote a strong letter to Pitt (8th March 1801) urging him to continue in office (Ashbourne's *Pitt,* pp. 319-321). He composed the famous song, *The Pilot that weathered the Storm,* for Pitt's birthday dinner at Merchant Taylors Hall in 1802. He got up the round-robin in November 1802, his chief supporter in the affairs being Lord Malmesbury. As soon as Pitt heard of it, he insisted on its being dropped.

28. *round-robin.* A petition circulated among a number of sympathizers, who sign their names in a ring, so that the originator may not be known. Now simply any petition, address, or subscription circulated for signature or contributions.

30. *pasquinades.* Satires or lampoons, personal attacks.

"In the 16th century, at the stall of a cobbler called Pasquin (Pasquino) at Rome, a number of idle persons used to assemble to listen to his pleasant sallies, and to relate little anecdotes in their turn, and indulge themselves in raillery at the expense of the passers-by. After the cobbler's death the statue of a gladiator was found near his stall, to which the people gave his name, and on which the wits of the time secretly, at night, affixed their lampoons." (Haydn, Dict. of Dates.)

Fielding's political satire, *Pasquin* will be remembered, and the Italian *Punch* is called *Pasquino*.

Canning's Pasquinades against Addington appeared in the *Oracle* in 1803-4. One of the most famous and biting of them puts the following words into Addington's mouth, to an old Scotch tune:

"If a body put a body in the Speaker's chair,
Must a body be nobody but a cypher there?
My gown and wig so long and big, they pleased the Royal eye,
Both King and Queen admired my mien, so Minister am I!'

Another satirizes his nepotism; Addington had given posts to his brother Hiley and his brother-in-law Bragge.

"When his speeches hobble vilely;
What 'Hear him's' burst from Brother Hiley;
When his faltering periods lag,
Hark to the cheers of Brother Bragge.

. . . .

Cheer, oh, cheer him, Brother Bragge,
Cheer, oh, cheer him, Brother Hiley,
Each a gentleman at large,
Lodged and fed at public charge,
Paying (with a grace to charm ye)
This the Fleet, and that the Army.
Brother Bragge and Brother Hiley,
Cheer him when he speaks so vilely;
Cheer him when his audience flag,
Brother Hiley, Brother Bragge."

36. *Turenne*. Marshal Prince de Turenne (1611-1675) was one of the most brilliant of French generals. In the Thirty Years' War and the Wars of the Fronde he fought on the Protestant side. In 1660 he became Marshal-General of France and in 1668 turned Catholic, instructed Louis XIV in the art of war and strategy, and in Holland and in the Rhine campaigns 1672-75, distinguished himself anew as the finest general of his age. He was killed by a cannon ball at Sassbach in 1675.

Page 149. 4. *restless ambition, etc.* In 1802 Napoleon annexed Elba, Piedmont, Parma and established a Protectorate over Switzerland.

12. *Lewis the Great*. Louis XIV of France, le Grand Monarque, (The Great Monarch, 1643-1715), who was practically the Dictator of Europe for many years and who greatly extended the French dominions in Europe for a time. He was an absolute monarch, who ruled without restraint, like Nepoleon.

13. *Frederick the Great*. Frederick II., the Great, King of Prussia (1712-1786), whose military genius was alone able to withstand Louis XIV for a time.

21. *Dunkirk*. The Duke of York besieged this town, was defeated by

Hoche and forced to retire, with the loss of his artillery, in September 1793.

Quiberon. In 1795 an English fleet carried an army of émigrés to Quiberon in Brittany. They were surrounded, defeated, and the majority killed or captured by Hoche in July.

22. *the Helder.* The Duke of York took the fort of Helder Point and captured the Dutch fleet in August 1799. He was defeated at Alkmaar, forced to re-construct the fort and to restore 6000 French prisoners, by the convention of Alkmaar, October 1799.

28. *some insignificant nobleman, etc.* Lord Chatham, Pitt's elder brother, was proposed by Addington in March 1803.

36-7. *He offered to resign.* In an interview with Pitt in April 1803. He insisted, however, that Pitt's war party, Grenville, Spencer, and Windham, should be excluded and to this Pitt would not agree.

Page 150. 25. *an unpublished letter.* It is now accessible in the Stanhope's *Pitt.* Ward quotes some of the telling phrases, and refers to the "electrifying peroration on the necessity and magnitude of our future exertions," but does not regard it as Pitt's greatest effort. "But its effects were astonishing, and I believe, unequalled. When he came in......all the attention of the House was......fixed on him; and as he walked up to his place, his name was repeated aloud by many persons......When, at the end of a tedious hour and a half he rose (20 min. to 8), there was first a violent and almost universal cry of 'Mr. Pitt! Mr. Pitt!' He was then cheered before he had uttered a syllable, a mark of approbation which was repeated at almost all the brilliant passages and remarkable sentiments; and when he sat down (9), there followed three of the longest, most eager, and most enthusiastic bursts of applause I ever heard in any place on any occasion."

26. *Ward, Earl of Dudley.* (1781-1833), Fourth Viscount and first Earl of Dudley, was follower of Pitt, held office under Canning in 1827, and opposed the Reform Bill. He was an eccentric person but a talented writer in the *Quarterly Review* upon literary and political questions.

34. *Fox replied etc.* Fox himself considered it his best speech.

Page 151. 6. *War was speedily declared.* England declared war in May 1803.

8. *a great camp.* At Boulogne, on the Straits of Dover, Napoleon, now First Consul for life and soon Emperor, formed a camp for 100,000 men, the veteran soldiers of his former campaigns in Belgium and Italy, and a fleet of boats for their transport across the Channel.

12. 1660. At the Restoration, when all parties united to restore the Stuart monarchy under Charles II.

13. 1688. When all united against the Catholic James II. to establish the Protestent Monarchy under William III., at the Revolution.

19. *the coalition of* 1783. The unscrupulous coaliton of North and Fox, formed for merely party purposes. Any such coalition of men of different parties would now, in 1803, have been formed for patriotic purposes.

30. *three oppositions.* Pitt's party, Fox's party, and the party of Grenville and Windham.

Page 152. 17-1. *In the Cabinet......treachery.* The Chancellor, Lord

Eldon, carried a letter from Pitt to the King, and was already preparing for a change, and in March requested an interview with Pitt.

Page 153. 4. *a share of power little inferior.* Fox and Fitz-william were to be Secretaries of State.

6. *half mad.* In February 1804 the bodily and mental disorders of the King were such that a Regency was thought of. He recovered again in May, when Pitt's Ministry was completely formed.

8. *Men who had gone as far as Fox.* Sheridan had defended the French against Mornington in 1794, Grey was a founder of the Society of the Friends of the People and represented their views in Parliament, Erskine was the advocate who defended Tom Paine in 1792 and Horne Tooke and others in 1794.

11. *Fox never, etc.* Fox was detested by the King on three counts. He had opposed the King's policy in America, he was the intimate of the Prince of Wales and encouraged him in his evil ways, and he had opposed the Royal Marriage Act of 1772.

16. *would have given way, as it gave way a few months' later, etc,* i.e., when Grenville and Fox entered upon office together in the "Ministry of all the Talents" in 1806. But the King offered no opposition to Grenville's "immutable resolution" as he was not in a position to form any other ministry. On this occasion, however, an alternative ministry was possible enough.

The King's health, moreover, made it dangerous to oppose his wishes violently.

37. *Lord Harrowby.* Dudley Ryder, Earl of Harrowby (1762-1847), a supporter and intimate of Pitt, held various offices under him from 1789 to 1800. In 1804 he was made Foreign Secretary, and in 1806 he was employed to negotiate a new European Coalition against France. In 1827 he retired from office on the death of Canning, whom he had followed in his liberal policy.

Page 154. 1-2. *Pitt... second administration.* "So began Pitt's Hundred Days; for his second Administration can only be compared to that second impotent reign of Napoleon's after their triumphant dictatorships." (Rosebery.)

5. *war with Spain.* War declared in December 1804 subsequently to the alliance of Spain with France, which threatened a dangerous attack upon England at sea.

9. *Lord Melville etc.* He had long been Treasurer to the Navy and was now First Lord of the Admiralty. His paymaster had used public balances for his own purposes, and Dundas had subsidised the secret services by means of them. He was accused by the Opposition of actually appropriating funds, but this was unfounded.

10-11. *He was censured etc.* The scene when the Speaker gave his casting vote in favour of Whitbread's vote of censure (8th April 1805) was graphically described by Lord Fitzharris: "I sat wedged close to Pitt himself the night when we were 216 to 216: and the Speaker, Abbott, after looking as white as a sheet, and pausing for ten minutes, gave the casting vote *against* us. Pitt immediately put on the little cocked hat that he was in the habit of wearing when dressed for the evening, and jammed it deeply over his forehead, and I distinctly saw the tears trickling down his cheeks. We had overheard one or two, such as Colonel Wardle, say they would see 'how Billy looked after it.' A few young ardent followers of Pitt, with myself, locked their arms together and formed a circle, in which he moved, I believe unconsciously, out of the House; and neither the Colonel nor his friends could approach him.

13. *The blow fell heavy on Pitt.* Pitt's death was ascribed to the heavy blows of misfortune which fell on him at this time, the fall of Dundas was the first, followed by the military disasters of the Coalition at Ulm and Austerlitz. The fall of Dundas had a great effect upon Pitt, indomitable though he was. "We can get over Austerlitz," he said to Huskisson, "but we can never get over the Tenth Report."

17. *Eldon.* John Scott, afterwards Earl of Eldon (1751-1838), was a successful barrister and a member of Parliament, Solicitor-General in 1788, Attorney-General in 1793, Chief Justice in 1799 and Lord Chancellor in 1801-6 and 1807-27. Knighted in 1788, he became Baron in 1799 and Earl in 1821. He was a bigoted opponent of all reform.

25-26. *Addington... office... peerage, etc.* In January 1805 he became President of the Council and was made Viscount Sidmouth.

29. *he was jealous, etc.* Pitt did not appoint his nominee to the admiralty in place of Dundas, and he resigned in July.

34. *the decay of his health.* Dr. Farquhar, his physician, ascribed it to the overstrain of a constitutionally weak body by mental exertion, the extreme agitation caused by Melville's fall and the disaster of Austerlitz, and the evil effect of an early indulgence in wine.

Page 155. 3. *Wilberforce.* Wilberforce had supported the motion against Dundas, and wished to explain Pitt's depression solely by Austerlitz. It was due to him that Dundas fell and he naturally wished to minimize the result of his action upon his friend Pitt.

7. *mighty coalition.* The Third Coalition. In April 1804 Russia joined England, in August Austria joined. Prussia was hesitating, when the coalition was crushed.

The full military strength of Russia (500,000 men) and of Austria, and the full naval and financial strength of England were to be arrayed against Napoleon.

15-16. *from the Ocean to the Black Forest.* From the great camp at Boulogne on the Channel to South-West Germany.

17. *Ulm.* At Ulm in Wurtemberg, South Germany, on October 19th 1805, the Austrian army under General Mack was completely defeated. Mack surrendered with an army of 30,000 men.

23. *Lord Malmesbury.* Malmesbury writes in his *Diaries*:—"I observed but too clearly the effect it had no Pitt, though he did his utmost to conceal it. This was the last time I saw him. The visit has left an indelible impression on my mind, as his manner and look were not his own, and gave me. in spite of myself, a foreboding of the loss with which we were threatened."

27. *Trafalgar.* Off Cape Trafalgar, in South Spain, Admiral Nelson

with 27 ships defeated the French and Spanish fleets of 33 ships, and completely ruined their naval power; on October 21st 1805.

29. *most glorious and most mournful.* Most mournful because Nelson himself was killed, a loss that even the most glorious of victories could hardly compensate.

30-1. *Lord Mayor's Day.* See Note on Page 29. l. 12.

34-5. *Cheapside ... King Street.* Two streets in London, E. C. leading to the Guildhall.

35. *his health was drunk etc.* His health was drunk as one who had been the "Saviour of England," and would be the "Saviour of Europe." Pitt's reply consisted of forty words: "I return you many thanks for the honour you have done me. But Europe is not to be saved by any single man. England has saved herself by her exertion, and will, as I trust, save Europe by her example." "That was all," says the Duke of Wellington, who was present; "he was scarcely up two minutes; yet nothing could be more perfect."

Page 156. 7. *Austertitz,* in Moravia, where the French, under Napoleon, defeated the Austrians under Emperor Francis and the Russians under Emperor Alexander, on 2nd December, 1805. The killed and wounded exceeded 30,000 on the side of the allies, who lost 40 standards, 150 pieces of cannon, and thousands of prisoners. This decisive victory of the French led to the Treaty of Presburg, signed 26th December, 1805.

17. *Putney.* A suburb to the west of London, on the Thames. His villa still exists, and is known as "Bowling Green House."

21. *the days of the great minister were numbered.* "When after his return from Bath," wrote Dr. Farquhar, "Mr. Pitt was attacked by a low fever, there was no power or stamina within capable of resisting it, and he naturally sank under its force in a few days."

28. *on the day etc.* Wellesley arrived in London on January 11th 1806 from India and on the 14th he had an interview with Pitt, who was his intimate friend, and a constant correspondent with him while he was in India.

30. *Wellesley.* See Note on Page 96. l. 8-9.

Page 157. 1. *a warm......eulogium...... Arthur,* i. e., on the future Duke of Wellington. Macaulay omits the best part of the eulogy, which thus continues: "He states every difficulty before he undertakes any service, but none after he has undertaken it." (*Stanhope.*)

16. *Lord Henry Petty,* afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne (1780-1863) the son of Lord Shelburne. He was in office as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1806-7 and again in various capacities almost continuously from 1827 until 1858. His influence was greatest in Earl Grey's Reform Ministry. He was in Palmerston's Cabinet, though without office from 1855-58 and it was during this period that Macaulay wrote this biography of Pitt.

Macaulay owed to him his entrance into Parliament as member for Calne in 1830.

25. *Sunt lacrymae rerum etc.* Fox was quoting this famous line from his favourite Virgil (*Æneid* I. 462.)

"Life has its tears and mortal woes touch men's hearts."

31. *old tutor and friend etc.* George Pretyman or Tomline. See Page 96. l. 27 and Note.

Page 158. 3. *Grub Street elegies.* Elegies written by hack-writers. See Note on Page 87. l. 20.

5. " *O my country!* " *This is a fable.* On the contrary, it seems to be well authenticated, much better certainly than the version given to Disraeli by a waiter in the House of Commons, who asserted that Pitt's last words were, " I think I could eat one of Bellamy's veal pies." (Rosebery repeats this in the appendix to his *Life.*) Stanhope's uncle, a nephew of Pitt, was present at Pitt's death and left the following account of it.

" His mind seemed fixed on the affairs of the country, and he expressed his thoughts aloud, though sometimes incoherently. He spoke a good deal concerning a private letter from Lord Harrowby, and frequently inquired the direction of the wind ; then said, answering himself, ' East ; ah ! that will do ; that will bring him quick ' : at other times seemed to be in conversation with a messenger, and sometimes cried out ' Hear ! Hear !' as if in the House of Commons. ...... About half-past two Mr. Pitt ceased moaning, and did not speak or make the slightest sound for some time, as his extremities were then growing chilly. I feared he was dying ; but shortly afterwards, with a much clearer voice than he spoke in before, and in a tone I shall never forget, he exclaimed, ' Oh, my country ! how I leave my country !' From that time he never spoke or moved, and at half-past four expired without a groan or struggle. His strength being quite exhausted, his life departed like a candle burning out." (Stanhope's *Pitt,* iv, 381-382.)

15. *Walpole etc.* Walpole was First Lord of the Treasury from 1720 to 1742, but never assumed the title of Prime or First Minister. It was in 1721 that " the firm " became " Walpole and Townshend" instead of "Townshend and Walpole," as Walpole himself put it.

20. *It was moved etc.* The motion was proposed by the Hon. Henry Lascelles and seconded by the Marquis of Titchfield ; it was in these words : " That his Majesty will be graciously pleased to give directions that the remains of the Right Honourable William Pitt be interred at the public charge ; and that a monument be erected in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter, Westminster, to the memory of that excellent statesman, with an inscription expressive of the public sense of so great and irreparable a loss, and to assure his Majesty that this House will make good the expense attending the same."

Hansard gives the figures of the division as 258 to 89, not 288.

30-1. *Painted Chamber.* An old building adjoining the House of Lords. It is so called from the five pictures which cover the walls. Henry III was a great lover of painting and employed many artists to decorate his palaces. The Painted Chambers was formerly a part of the old palace of Westminster, and was so decorated.

31-2. *northern transept.* Now called "Statesman's Aisle."

32. *a splendid train.* Three princes of the blood, 29 peers, 10 bishops, and 150 members of Parliament, among whom were six past or future Prime Ministers.

34. *near to..his father.* Actually in the same vault. "What sepulchre," exclaimed Wellesley, who was present, "embosoms the remains of so much excellence and so much glory."

35. *near to..his great rival.* Near to Fox's grave. Fox died on September 13th, 1806, eight months after Pitt. Scott refers to this in his *Marmion :*

> "Drop upon Fox's grave the tear
> 'Twill trickle to his rival's bier;
> O'er Pitt's the mournful requiem sound,
> And Fox's will the notes rebound."

36. *the assistants.* Those who were present. (A Gallicism.)

Page 159. 6. *the eagle face of Chatham etc.* Macaulay has blended the exclamation of the Wellesley (see Note on l. 13-2 above) with the actual words of Wilberforce: "The statue of the father seemed to look with consternation at the vault which was opening to receive his favourite son."

19. *an income more than sufficient etc.* Rosebery gives the following summary of Pitt's income after 1792.

First Lord of the Treasury	£ 5000
Chancellor of the Exchequer	£ 2452
Warden of the Cinque Ports	£ 3080
Total emoluments	£ 10,532

23-4. *an excellent house,* The house in Downing Street.

28. *no long election bills.* As member of Cambridge University Pitt did not need spend much money on his elections.

34. *One of those friends.* Robert Smith (1752-1838), M. P. for Nottingham, was requested in 1786 by Pitt to examine his private affairs. The improvements effected in the management were but temporary. Smith was created Earl Carrington in 1797. He was the grandfather of Earl Stanhope, the biographer of Pitt. The insinuation that he gained his peerage by advancing money to Pitt was indignantly repudiated by him when it appeared in 1836 in Wraxall's *Memoirs.*

Page 160. 5. *Pericles.* Pericles (died 429 B. C.) was the great Athenian statesman, general, and orator of the fifth century B. C. From 461 to his death in 429 he was the head of the democratic party in Athens. He was extremely economical in his household and other private expenditure. He was, however, extremely lavish of public funds, so that Macaulay's choice of Pericles as a model of "frugality" is not very happy.

De Witt. See Note on Page 119. l. 12.

John De Witt, says Macaulay in his *Essay on Temple,* "kept only a single servant, walked about the streets in the plainest garb, and never used a coach except for visits of ceremony."

De Witt presented, indeed, in an age of corruption, a rare example of probity in a position of great power.

16. *Pitt made three motions.* The first was made on his entry into Parliament in 1782, the second in 1783 when the Coalition Ministry was in power, the third was one of the earliest bills he introduced when minister himself in 1785. All were defeated, and Pitt abandoned the cause of Reform, though he never ceased to believe in it.

24. *had resigned his office etc.* In February 1801.

26. *Test Act.* The Test Act of 1673 required all holders of office unde the Crown to take the Sacrament according to the rites of the Anglican Church and to make a declaration against the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation.

George III. had held himself bound to maintain this Act, which excluded all Catholics and Dissenters from office, by his Coronation Oath.

In vain Pitt pointed out that the "Popish Danger" no longer existed.

30. *doctrines of Adam Smith.* Adam Smith (1723-1790), the famous writer on political economy and author of the *Wealth of Nations*, which is the foundation of modern study of political economy. He reduces wealth in money or land to its ultimate value in terms of labour. Labour is the true source of wealth. He is consequently a supporter of free trade and has handed down his principles to Cobden and his successors. Neither Fox nor Grey, Reformers both, made such efforts on behalf of free trade as Pitt, who spoke in favour of trade with America, tried to pass a bill abolishing restrictions on Irish trade, and made a free-trade Treaty of Commerce with France.

31. *Negro-drivers.* Those who supported slavery, profited by it, or actually trafficked in it.

Pitt's speech against the Slave-trade in April 1792 is considered by many to be his greatest.

35. *Charlemagne.* Charlemagne (Charles the Great, 724-814) was King of the Franks. His conquest rivalled those of the Romans whom he admired, and in 800 he restored the Western Empire and was crowned Emperor and Cæsar by Pope Leo III. He was a great patron of literature, arts and learning.

of Ariosto. Ariosto (1474-1533), one of the greatest of Italian poets, wrote the epic poem *Orlando Furioso* which relates the adventures of one of Charlemagne's Paladino, Orlando or Roland. His conception of Charlemagne's character is purely poetical and imaginative. "The Charlemagne of Ariosto" is therefore the mythical Charlemagne of Romance.

36. *of Eginhard.* Eginhard or Einhard (770-840), a scholar who was at the Court of Charlemagne from 796-814, wrote his *Vita Caroli Magni*, the "Life of Charles the Great," which is the most reliable account of "Charlemagne of Eginhard" and is based on personal knowledge. "Charlemagne of Eginhard" is therefore the real Charlemagne of History.

Page 161. 2. *a minister of great talents etc.* In this sentence Macaulay gives an admirable summary of his conception of Pitt, which underlies the whole narrative of this biography.

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